

F.O.

501

110  
45



CLOSED  
UNTIL  
2,004

7

*Printed for the use of the Foreign Office*

SECRET

(19292)

**FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE**

**RESPECTING**

**SYRIA**

**PART 7**

**January to December 1953**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	SUBJECT	Page
General Correspondence			
	1953		
1 Mr. Montagu-Pollock No. 5	Jan. 8	Annual review for 1952 ... ..	1
2 Mr. Montagu-Pollock No. 44	Mar. 31	Prospects of the Arab Liberation Movement ... .. Reasons for the movement's failure to attract support, in spite of the efforts being made to build it up; the survival of the movement dependent on the survival of Colonel Shishakli.	3
3 Mr. Montagu-Pollock No. 96	June 17	Anglo-Syrian relations ... .. Some reflections by Her Majesty's retiring Ambassador; the Syrians' obsession with Palestine, their ignorance of the outside world; their resentment of foreign influence and vast incompetence; the small difference, from the United Kingdom point of view, between Syrian "democratic" politicians and a Syrian dictator in the person of General Shishakli.	5
4 Mr. Gardener No. 106	July 15	Election of General Shishakli as President of Syria ... .. Voting considered by the authorities to be embarrassingly low; new draft constitution approved by the people; belief by General Shishakli in parliamentary government and democratic forms if only as a means of legalising his own position.	7
5 Mr. Gardener No. 170	Oct. 14	Recent Syrian elections: The formation of a Chamber of Deputies ... .. At least sixty of the eighty-two members known to be adherents of the Arab Liberation Movement; the frustration of President Shishakli's hopes of securing political backing, because of the insignificance of the deputies returned and the fraud with which the elections were held; the threat to the country's economic position.	9
6 Mr. Gardener No. 174	Oct. 28	Opening of the recently-elected Syrian Parliament on October 24, 1953: A summary of President Shishakli's speech ... .. Speech comparatively mild; desire to avoid unnecessary entanglements with East or West; faith in Arab League reaffirmed; internal programme ambitious but unlikely to be realised.	10
7 Mr. Gardener No. 183	Dec. 7	Report on opposition to the Shishakli régime ... .. Improved economic position responsible for political apathy; Opposition unable to decide how to oppose the Government; reported desire for Syro-Iraqian union; reluctance of Opposition members to accept ministerial posts.	11

Appendix—Biographical Notes

	1953		
8 Mr. Gardener No. 147	Sept. 28	Annual report on the leading personalities in Syria ... ..	[ 1
9 Mr. Montagu-Pollock No. 82	May 26	Annual report on the heads of foreign missions ... ..	[ 25

SUBJECT INDEX

[The figures denote the serial numbers of the documents]

ANGLO-SYRIAN RELATIONS—3.	ARAB LIBERATION MOVEMENT—2.
ANNUAL REPORT ON THE HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS—9.	ELECTIONS— Formation of a Chamber of Deputies—5.
ANNUAL REPORT ON THE LEADING PERSONALITIES—8.	GENERAL SHISHAKLI— Election of as President of Syria—4. Opposition to his régime—7.
ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1952—1.	SYRIAN PARLIAMENT, OPENING OF—6.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING

SYRIA—PART 7

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

EY 1011/1

No. 1

SYRIA: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1952

*Mr. Montagu-Pollock to Mr. Eden. (Received 14th January)*

(No. 5. Confidential) *Damascus.*  
Sir, *8th January, 1953.*

I have the honour to submit a review of political events in Syria for the year 1952, for the composition of which I am indebted to Mr. Ian Samuel, First Secretary at this embassy.

I have, &c.

W. H. MONTAGU-POLLOCK.

Enclosure in No. 1

*Syria: Annual Review for 1952*

The beginning of 1952 saw Colonel Shishakli addressing himself to the tasks of strengthening his control and of gaining organised political support. He almost certainly sounded the Nationalists, the Republican *bloc* and some independents, but none would work with him. He wanted order and discipline, the lion's share of the budget for the Army, reform and the last word for himself. To Syrian politicians democracy meant licence, nephews in good jobs and endless discussion.

2. Colonel Shishakli therefore began his work without any broad-based political backing but, ably supported by the secretaries-general acting as Ministers, he introduced measures of land reform, taxation reform, civil service discipline, trades union organisation, rent control, &c. Some of these measures were too ambitious but the régime thought it better to enact them and try to carry them out rather than to do nothing. In particular the decree providing for the distribution of land to peasants proved unworkable and has already been modified.

3. Other decrees aimed at promoting order and discipline. Exemptions from conscription were abolished, the university brought under Government control and political activity forbidden to students, teachers and civil servants. The judiciary was also deprived of its independence.

Most revolutionary of all, the Moslem Brotherhood was suppressed. Later, control of the press was added and editors now take orders by telephone from a colonel. These measures, however, were resented by those who crave for intrigue and turbulent politics and find self-expression in street demonstrations. The abortive *coup* at the end of the year was probably chiefly due to the suppression of these instincts.

4. The army feels that foreigners are usually spies and that contacts with them and their culture will corrupt the Arabs. In March it ordered the British Council and the French and American cultural institutes to close and tried to reduce foreign information offices to ineffectiveness. The strong reaction of the three Powers led to a tacit agreement that work might go on, but it is still necessary for it to be done circumspectly. Foreign traders also were penalised by a decree (No. 151) which aimed at ensuring that Syrian trade was in Syrian hands. This was directed against the Lebanese, but British managers were threatened. As a result of strong representations the damage to British interests has been kept to a minimum.

5. In the early summer it seems that Colonel Shishakli decided that, as the old political parties were unlikely to co-operate with him on his terms, he had better form a party of his own. This has emerged as the Arab Liberation Movement dedicated to reform at home and the fostering of Arab unity abroad. The colonel's intention was to build up this party and then hold elections that would return it to power. Parliamentary government, which Colonel Shishakli often says that he wants to restore, would then be resumed. Unfortunately no one of consequence in Syria would join the movement even when in June its leaders, worthy men but with neither following nor great ability, were formed into a Cabinet. The new Ministers have made little difference to the administration, though the Foreign Minister, Dr. Rifa'i, has shown

signs of ability and sense. At this time General Selo who, as Prime Minister, had to take many decisions for which he had neither the time nor the brains, fell ill from overwork and Colonel Shishakli appointed himself Vice-Premier. Since then General Selo, who has recovered, has continued to preside over the Council of Ministers, but has become of less consequence than ever. Towards the end of the summer Colonel Shishakli began to complain that the former politicians were working against him, and to put discreet pressure on civil servants and university professors to join the movement in spite of the ban on their joining political parties. Even so, recruiting was far from brisk.

6. This was the state of opinion on 3rd December when Colonel Shishakli celebrated a year's open dictatorship with a big military parade in Damascus. This impressive and well-organised performance undoubtedly gained him new respect in many quarters. But the harness had already begun to gull and yet another *coup* was being prepared. The colonel smothered it, but he has been forced to dismiss some twenty-four officers, including old friends, senior technicians and able men. He blames extremist politicians for suborning the officers, but although Akram Hourani was again active, it is not certain that the officers were not working on their own account. This abortive *coup* neatly underlines the point that in spite of his absolute control and some useful achievements, Colonel Shishakli ends the year as he began it—without organised political support.

7. His main achievement in internal affairs is the imposition of calm and order which has created a foundation on which reform and prosperity can be built and has made agitation difficult for the Communists, whom the régime resolutely puts down. He has also enacted some beneficial legislation and, if little has yet come of it, it would be as wrong to be too cynical as to be over-optimistic. The spirit of the country is better, at any rate among the younger people, and there is less apathy in the administration. But with a shortage of trained men and with much of the country's slender resources devoted to the army, the advance will be slow.

8. Among the colonel's acts must be listed the agreement to settle the 80,000 refugees now in Syria in return for \$30 million provided by U.N.R.W.A.; but his statements about the settlement in Syria of refugees from outside are equivocal. Other plans for economic development have barely

advanced: apart from the Rouj and Ghab schemes there is talk and inspection but no visible progress on any of the projects, although the contract for the Lattakia port has been awarded in shady circumstances to a Yugoslav firm of doubtful competence. The International Bank has not succeeded in lending a cent. Lack of Syrian capital, suspicion of foreign capital, lack of technicians and administrators, lack of vision and lack of drive are the causes of this situation.

#### Foreign Affairs

9. Colonel Shishakli has improved his relations with Egypt, Iraq and Jordan and has retained the friendship of France, the United States and Saudi Arabia. He has understood that Syria's proximity and size enable her to bully the Lebanon over economic affairs. A link has been made with Yugoslavia and only the German-Israel reparations agreement prevents cordiality between Syria and the Federal Republic, for a number of the new Syrian leaders, including the Foreign Minister, seem to have a taste for German ways.

10. In Arab affairs Colonel Shishakli believes that he had a leading part to play: he speaks much of unity but undoubtedly thinks unneighbourly thoughts of Iraq and the Lebanon. His patron saint is Saladin, who united the powers of Egypt and Syria and defeated the invaders of Palestine. He welcomed General Neguib's success in Egypt and believes he can work with a fellow-soldier. Iraq has recognised his régime, but his suspicious mind still fears that Syria may be engulfed in the Fertile Crescent, and he regards both Jordan and Iraq as not free agents because of their treaties with the United Kingdom. Although the aim of the Arab Liberation Movement is to free Arab lands from such shackles, the régime probably has sense enough to begin with co-operation in smaller matters, such as trade, passports, &c.

11. Syria participates wholeheartedly in maintaining hatred of Israel and in the boycott. There are no signs that Colonel Shishakli is willing to accept any feasible solution to the Palestine problem or that his régime could survive if he did.

12. Relations with the United Kingdom and the Western Powers depend much on the delivery of arms. Official cordiality towards the British flew in with the first Meteor jet aircraft to be delivered; and the sale of other military equipment and the offer of air training facilities have also

helped to improve our position. While the Syrian press still accuses us of being imperialists, colonisers and partisans of Israel, a more co-operative attitude on the part of Government officials is distinctly noticeable.

13. The French, generally speaking, have maintained their influence, though they have had a bad press over North Africa and feel diminished by our delivery of jet aircraft and offers of training. Nevertheless, their long lead in cultural matters, their virtual monopoly of training in the Syrian Army and their continued supply of equipment keeps them in Colonel Shishakli's good books.

14. At the beginning of the year the Americans were offering several million dollars of mutual security money, but the Syrians vaguely felt that they would be swamped by foreigners and the American way of life if they signed the agreements. For a comparatively small sum they did not think this risk worth taking.

15. Unfortunately agreements with foreigners, unless the benefits to Syria are dazzling, may give a handle to Colonel Shishakli's enemies who can claim that he has sold out to the West. He would like Syria to be a member of a Middle East Defence Organisation, not only because he would expect thereby to obtain arms in greater quantity and on more favourable terms but also because he knows, and has publicly admitted, that neutrality is impossible. It is, however, difficult for him to speak his mind on this subject until his internal position is impregnable. The same difficulty lies in the way of his coming to an agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company (from which he is now trying to squeeze more money), with U.N.R.W.A. over refugees and even, to a smaller extent, with the International Bank. It seems that

only a decisive step by Egypt into the Western camp would remove this inhibition.

#### Economic

16. During 1952 Syria has pursued a policy of building up the strength and independence of her economy with some success. The main emphasis has been on agricultural development in which the land reform plans formed part. The wheat harvest was satisfactory and 244,000 tons of grain were exported. The cotton crop, which was affected by disease, totalled 55,000 tons and 33,690 tons were exported. However, about 20,000 tons remain unexported, with the result that many growers are reverting to safer grain crops.

17. Local industries have been encouraged by a protectionist policy which has prohibited the import of a wide range of goods and by tax exemptions and other facilities for new and expanding industries. Decree No. 151 (see paragraph 4 above) compelled firms established outside but operating in Syria to have Syrian nationals or companies with 66 per cent. Syrian capital only as their agents.

18. Syro-Lebanese economic relations have been strained throughout the year. Attempts to improve these have failed because Syria's economy appears for the time being to benefit from its greater independence.

19. Draft laws for monetary reform and for the establishment of a Government Central Bank have continued to be under consideration. Dr. Schacht visited the country in December to advise on these and other matters and generally approved the Government's policy.

20. The budget for the period 1st July, 1951, to 31st December, 1952, was balanced at £Syr. 265 million, which includes £Syr. 108,076,000 for defence.

EY 1015/6

No. 2

### PROSPECTS OF THE ARAB LIBERATION MOVEMENT

*Mr. Montagu-Pollock to Mr. Eden. (Received April 7)*

(No. 44. Confidential) *Damascus,*  
Sir, *March 31, 1953.*

Damascus despatch No. 156 of 10th October gave an account of the difficulties that Colonel Shishakli was encountering in building up his political party, the Arab Liberation Movement, but recent reports from this post have referred to the colonel's

47051

statements to the effect that parliamentary elections would be held very soon. Since it is clearly his intention that the movement should be returned to power in the elections, it should follow that he regarded the movement as being now ready to form a parliamentary majority and to govern the country behind this democratic façade. If

B\* 2

this were so I and my staff should be constantly meeting Syrians who have joined the movement and we should be in a position to give you an accurate account of its composition and strength. In fact, apart from the Cabinet Ministers, I have met only one Syrian who admits to having joined the movement and most of us can find none at all. Her Majesty's Consul in Aleppo, where recruiting drives have been in progress for months, appears to know equally few.

2. In his despatch under reference Mr. Samuel gave a number of reasons why the movement found so little support: fear that another military event (as *coups d'Etat* are now called here) might result in adherents to the movement being victimised, a dislike of being under a military thumb, the general lack of incentive, under present conditions in the Middle East, to enter politics and perhaps the activities of the old political parties. Another deterrent, curiously enough, seems to be ordinary human snobbery: the leaders of the movement are, one hears on all sides, nobodies with whom it is ridiculous to associate; a notable of Aleppo recently remarked to Her Majesty's Consul, "It is hard to imagine Zafer Rifa'i reviewing international affairs with Mr. Eden." In his letter to Mr. Ross of 5th September Mr. Samuel suggested also that some lingering love for democracy, however impure that love may be, might be deterring members of the professional classes from joining a totalitarian party, and I believe that that does in fact constitute a hindrance for many educated people.

3. Another factor which may detract from any dignity the movement might have is the odour of dishonesty that hangs about it. No amount of official verbiage, and there is a great deal, can obscure the fact that the movement is an ordinary political party, and that teachers, Government servants, soldiers and students are not allowed to join parties. Again its very name is false, for Syria is not enslaved, except by her own defects, and the word "Liberation" in the title has little relevance to her problems.

4. However, in spite of the lack of evidence that the movement is attracting widespread support or throwing up effective leaders, very serious efforts are still being made to build it up. Branches have been opened in many rural towns and bus loads of peasants are brought in from the countryside to be harangued and enrolled

by a Cabinet Minister who belongs to the district. The country and the newspapers are flooded with oratory in praise of the régime and I cannot ignore Colonel Shishakli's repeated statements that he will hold elections soon. I deduce that there must be some support for this movement and, from Colonel Shishakli's persistence, that he must have solid hopes that it will gain momentum. In the first place it appears that some of the urban labouring class, particularly in Aleppo, have been won over to the régime by the appointment of judges to deal promptly with labour disputes and by the fact that these judges pay more attention to the labourer's rights than to his obligations. Statistically the movement has also gained as a result of pressure to join exerted by the police in the rougher quarters of Damascus and Aleppo. The movement also seems to be popular among students, most of whom are, of course, ultra-nationalist. It is so difficult to find out what, if anything, the illiterate peasant thinks that it would be misleading if I were to attempt to say where his sympathies lay in this matter, but the more prosperous farmers do not approve of the régime and its movement: they think that the Government interferes too much in agriculture, sometimes for the private profit of its members. Merchants are divided: Decree No. 151, which aimed at putting Syrian commerce in Syrian hands, was naturally popular and other business men favour the policy of protection and control which is being followed by the Government and which is laid down as a principle in the Charter of the Arab Liberation Movement. On the other hand, the business community strongly dislikes being forced to give voluntary contributions to the army and police and generally disapproves of military dictatorship. Among the professional classes only a very small number have joined and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that those that have, have done so in order to obtain good jobs: there is evidence that there are pickings to be had. A fair number of civil servants are members but, as indicated in the despatch under reference, they are not far from being pressed men. This tentative assessment of the support given to the movement does at least account for the lack of leaders and for the feeling among upper-class Syrians that it is unworthy: a party which derives its main support from a section of the urban proletariat, a few merchants and some reluctant civil servants is not, in the

illiterate state of Syria, likely to throw up obvious leaders or induce patriotic fervour.

5. If there is nothing in the movement's charter to arouse enthusiasm, there is also nothing to which the average Syrian nationalist will take exception. From the enclosed copy(1) you will see that it lays great stress on Arab unity and claims that the Arab countries are one and indivisible. It has also been made clear in Colonel Shishakli's speeches in support of the movement that he regards Syria as the leader in the campaign for unity. The only article on foreign policy promises a contribution to the liberation of Arab peoples from "imperialism" and the rest of the charter is devoted to internal affairs. In this field the movement may be said to be National Socialist, with the State undertaking to establish justice, equality, prosperity, education, health, women's rights, agricultural development, sport, full employment, land distribution, sound labour relations and social security: its economic policy is dirigiste. There is no doubt but that Colonel Shishakli intends to put into force to the best of his ability this internal programme and, as you are aware, he has already introduced measures, of a sort, to control Syrian commerce and keep it in Syrian hands, to protect local industries and to distribute land. Help has also been

given to trades unions. Damascus despatch No. 160 set out some of the Foreign Minister's ideas on the foreign policy of the movement and I have nothing to add to that account.

6. It is difficult to sum up the prospects of the Arab Liberation Movement because its main enemy is not active opposition (which indeed comes only from the small number of Communists) but the apathy of a people who do not like being ruled anyway and who are particularly disinclined to help a military régime to forge an instrument for controlling them. Moreover, if it is logically possible to foment apathy it is not unlikely that the old political parties and leaders are doing so. It must also be remembered that the survival of the movement is more likely to depend on the survival of Colonel Shishakli than on any other factor. If he retains his power, the movement is likely to remain even if its political structure is artificial. If he does not, it is likely to disappear with him.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch (without enclosure) to Her Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Bagdad, Tel Aviv, Amman, Jedda and Beirut and, with enclosure, to the head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

W. H. MONTAGU-POLLOCK.

(1) Not printed.

EY 1019/1

No. 3

## ANGLO-SYRIAN RELATIONS

Mr. Montagu-Pollock to Sir W. Churchill. (Received June 29)

(No. 96. Confidential)  
Sir,

Damascus,  
June 17, 1953.

At the end of my three years' mission to Syria I have the honour to submit to you some reflexions on the country and its Government. I shall not try to analyse those major problems—Syrian-Israeli relations, refugees, Middle East defence, economic development and oil—which are at the heart of Anglo-Syrian relations, partly because they have been dealt with exhaustively by this and other posts in the region, and partly because, I regret to say, I can see no significant change in Syria's attitude to any one of these problems in the last three years. It is true that various Syrian leaders have made encouraging noises both about resettling refugees and about developing the country, but so far very little indeed has

actually been done and the cold, negative attitude to these matters does not seem to have changed. Moreover, on the question of oil Syria's attitude has changed, if at all, for the worse and the determination to squeeze more money from the Iraq Petroleum Company and Tapline is probably stronger than it was.

2. In these circumstances it has been my task, while doing my best, without much success, to achieve something in the spheres I have mentioned, to conduct a holding operation. It has been the case that during almost the whole of my stay in Syria, and more particularly during the last eighteen months, British institutions, British commerce and British subjects have been constantly sniped at and all too frequently subjected to serious attack by the Syrian

authorities. Usually this hostility has not been confined to or even directed chiefly at the British but as the United States has fewer hostages in Syria and as France, by virtue of her policy of training and equipping the Syrian armed forces and her strong opposition to Syro-Iraqi Union, has better means of pressure than we have, it has seemed that the British, among the Western Powers, have had to withstand the burden of the hostility. At various times during the past three years serious attempts have been made to shut down my Information Department and the British Council; the nationalistic commercial Law No. 151 threatened and still threatens to cause serious difficulties to British firms; and the boycott of Israel has threatened British ships, firms and individuals. British subjects have suffered from the attentions of the police on ridiculous charges that they were Jews, a British Mission school has been forced to close (though the fault was not wholly with the Syrians) and British experts are deliberately excluded from Syria in many fields. In addition the I.P.C. suffers constant pin-pricks, though it normally prefers to conduct its own defence. Above all the press maintains an incessant clamour of spiteful, schoolboy insults.

3. By and large the line has been held but every attack has had to be resisted by protests and often prolonged representations at high levels. As a general rule I should say that it is impossible to right the most trivial injustice without recourse to at least the Secretary-General of a Ministry or the Chief of Police; in appropriate cases it is prudent to approach both: more important matters can be settled only by approaching the Minister for Foreign Affairs, General Shishakli or General Selo. I am sure that we should not have held the position as well as we have if the fourteen Meteors had not been supplied and the possibility of further military help held out.

4. This unfriendly attitude towards the United Kingdom and the Western Powers has been greatly accentuated by events in Palestine. Now that the Syrians suffer from a burning sense of injustice they feel that the inflicting of injustice on others is not a think to worry about: I do not believe that this amounts to deliberate retaliation but rather to a strong reluctance to stand in the way of harm coming to those who have harmed them.

5. The next difficulty in dealing with Syria to-day springs from the Syrians' ignorance of affairs outside the Arab World. Many times it has seemed to me that not only the somewhat ignorant soldiers now in control,

but even the experienced and travelled politicians of former régimes, had no conception whatever of the way a Western statesman reasoned or what considerations influenced him. For Syrians international relations are simply a bazaar intrigue designed to achieve some immediate and usually insignificant object. If this is correct, it accounts for their willingness to cut off their noses to spite their face, for their habit of imputing the most fantastic motives to foreign statesmen and for their inability to grasp long-term issues. All too frequently in the Middle East we hear that it is essential for the West to make an effort to understand the Arabs. Of course many such attempts have been and are being made. But little headway will be achieved unless the Arabs can be persuaded to make some effort to understand our mind, our belief in cause and effect and in the necessity of compromise. Too often now this lack of comprehension and ignorance of the Western mind leads to a contempt for it; its arguments are brushed aside without consideration on the ground that, since they emanate from the West, they must be either silly or they conceal an ulterior motive.

6. This ignorance of the foreigner, heightened by innate xenophobia and the bitterness and mistrust engendered by the Palestine affair, results in extreme sensitivity to foreign advice. Three other ingredients, the Arab's pride, his memories of the French Mandate and his fears of being overwhelmed by the bustling and numerous Americans, also enter into this. The result is that you cannot now give money or help or advice to Syria except with the utmost tact. Point IV aid is refused; Mr. Dulles was told that Syria objected to signing formal agreements and anything that smacks of a link with the West is either rejected or, as in the case of a small preliminary agreement with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency about resettling refugees, concealed. A few experts are accepted from international organisations but it is usually asked that they should not be either British, French or American and their services are often not appreciated.

7. This brings me to the incompetence of the Syrian Government. There is probably no need to labour this point, but to me it seems almost incredible that the Government machine should be capable of so little in the way of positive achievement. This inefficiency is a major factor in our relations with Syria, for it means that little or no progress can be expected in Syria until either the administration and technical services are

enormously improved or foreign experts and help are accepted on the necessary scale. At the moment neither seems at all likely. When I see what heavy weather the Syrians make about organising anything, it is inconceivable that the resettlement of half a million refugees could be carried through: so many schemes, the latest is the land reform, fail or hang fire because no one really thinks or plans ahead.

8. After having experienced both Syrian "democratic" politicians and a Syrian dictator and having, of course, considered the dictators and "democrats" who ruled before my arrival, I am wondering whether there is really very much difference, from our point of view, between the various régimes, and whether the points I have tried to make above—the Syrians' obsession with Palestine, their ignorance of the outside world, their resentment of foreign influence and their vast incompetence—do not constitute the reason for this lack of difference. Built on such foundations no régime can achieve much: General Shishakli's achievement does not now amount to much more than a restoration of order and calm, the suppression of Muslim fanaticism, a lessening of intrigue and corruption and a promise of reforms. Except for the last these are negative achievements, valuable though they are, and the last remains a promise even though I should judge that the general's chance of redeeming it, if he survives, are slightly better than his predecessors'—but only slightly.

9. The future does not therefore look promising: I can see only one gleam of light: this is that in spite of all the offences that the Syrians believe that we have committed against them, many retain a belief

in our political skill which is often combined with feelings of personal friendship for individual British officers, officials or business men. At its lowest this feeling leads Syrians to regard us as the least bad of the Western "imperialists," more worthy of respect and trust than the French and less ostentatious and less dangerous to "arabism" than the numerous and over-eager Americans. At its best the feeling enables Syrians to retain their faith that the British will not only surmount their own difficulties but pull the Arabs out of theirs as well. Unfortunately for Her Majesty's Representatives in Syria it is not, generally speaking, the Syrian Government official nor the type now being attracted to General Shishakli's régime who holds these views. Our friends, like so many of the good elements in the country, are estranged from the régime if not altogether disgusted with politics. But they exist: it is to them that our information and cultural work must be directed in the hope that they will come to the top in the end and show themselves more worthy and capable of power than those at present in office. In the meantime, while doing nothing to disconcert our friends, we must do our best with the officials and the régime. General Shishakli's policy towards the British is clearly to get all he can out of them and give a trickle of goodwill in return: our policy towards him can be on the same lines.

10. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Washington, Bagdad, Amman, Jedda, Tel Aviv, Beirut and to the Head of the British Middle East Office, Fayid.

I have, &c.

W. H. MONTAGU-POLLOCK.

EY 1018/9

No. 4

#### ELECTION OF GENERAL SHISHAKLI AS PRESIDENT OF SYRIA

*Mr. Gardener to Lord Salisbury. (Received July 20)*

(No. 106. Confidential) *Damascus,*  
My Lord Marquess, *July 15, 1953.*

In my telegram No. 146 of the 13th of July I informed Your Lordship that General Shishakli had been elected President of Syria and that the draft Constitution discussed in Damascus despatch No. 98 of the 24th of June had been approved by the people. The voting was carried out in an

orderly manner and the press announces that the percentage of those voting in favour of General Shishakli and his Constitution was in the region of ninety, though this varied from district to district and was admitted to be only 65 in Soueida in the Druze country. There is a good deal of evidence that the calm of the elections was the calm of resignation and until the evening

of polling day, it seems, the percentage of those voting was considered by the authorities to be embarrassingly low, so various expedients are said, on good authority, to have been resorted to: youths and girls under voting age were invited by policemen to supplement the efforts of their elders and the supervising staff in the booths also helped to fill up the ballot boxes: all Government employees and soldiers received direct orders to vote.

2. On the day following the election, Saturday the 11th of July, General Shishakli formally took over his office from General Selo and accepted the resignation of the Cabinet. The former Ministers are carrying on as caretakers until the President appoints successors.

3. Thus all has gone according to General Shishakli's plan and it is doubtful if any literate in the country is deceived by the manoeuvres of the last few weeks: the Government remains in the same hands as before and power is retained by the same rather disreputable means. It is true that during the election period and since the Opposition, which Mr. Samuel referred to in his despatch under reference, has published daily attacks on General Shishakli's dictatorship and that hostile petitions from more or less important groups continue to be openly circulated. But this activity is dying down and already the chief organ of the Opposition, the Homs paper *Al Suri Al Jedid*, has ceased publication "because its type has become worn out."

4. If nothing has changed it may be asked why General Shishakli should bother to stage the comedy. He is a man with a decided preference for the shadows and no Syrian dictator can forget the fate of Husni al Zaim who thrust himself into the limelight and was shot within four months. I think that the reason for General Shishakli's move lies in his craving for legality and constitutional forms. Ever since he came into the open as dictator in November 1951 he has been saying that he

would restore parliamentary Government as soon as possible. This is not because of any love of or even respect for Parliaments as such but because he realises that the illegality of his position before the recent election offered a dangerous weapon to his enemies. The old politicians of the People's and Nationalist Parties, the sinister men around Akram Hourani, and dissident groups like that of Colonel Saffa could all rally support against the régime on the ground that it was unconstitutional. Worst of all, no doubt, in General Shishakli's eyes was the thought that the Iraqis might have an excuse to intervene in Syria in the name of legitimacy. The General knows that words like "democracy" "parliamentary Government" and "the rule of law," although hopelessly misunderstood here, have a charm that can be dangerous to those who disregard it. It was therefore necessary to bring these words over to serve on his side. But it was equally necessary to ensure that he did not thereby lose any of his power.

5. This is the explanation of recent events. A Constitution has been evolved which looks, and indeed could be, democratic in the Western sense and it has been brought into force after an election which was no worse conducted than most in these parts. Unobtrusive emphasis on some articles of the Constitution rather than others and a carefully elected Chamber of Deputies will enable the President to have his way in all important fields as effectively as he did before. The difference is that plotters now can be represented as working not against a Colonel but against a President of the Republic with a 90 per cent. majority behind him.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives in Ankara, Amman, Beirut, Jedda and Tel Aviv, to the Head of the British Middle East Office and to Her Majesty's Chargés d'Affaires in Cairo and Bagdad.

I have, &c.

A. J. GARDENER.

## RECENT SYRIAN ELECTIONS: THE FORMATION OF A CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

*Mr. Gardener to Mr. Eden. (Received October 17)*

(No. 170. Confidential) *Damascus,*  
Sir, *October 14, 1953.*

With reference to my telegram No. 226 of the 11th of October about the results of the Syrian elections, I have the honour to report that President Shishakli has succeeded in forming a Chamber of Deputies of whose eighty-two members at least sixty are known adherents of his Arab Liberation Movement. Estimates of the actual number vary since the movement did not stand as a party. Many were returned unopposed. The rest of the Chamber will comprise a few Independents and one member of the P.P.S., which sponsored more than twenty candidates. Several women stood, for the first time, but none got in.

2. The President's outward success must be qualified. First, nearly all the new members are nonentities. Secondly, though everyone expected the dice to be loaded in favour of the President's men, many people have been disgusted at the degree of fraud to which the régime thought it necessary to go. Many well-founded tales are current of the stuffing of the ballot boxes, and of "persuasion" exercised by officials on non-movement candidates to withdraw so that movement men might get in unopposed. Nobody believes that more than 10-15 per cent. of the urban population voted; more may have done so in country districts under pressure from local officials. No official percentages have yet been announced.

3. As I said in my despatch No. 130 of the 18th of August, I believe that General Shishakli had hoped to have attracted into Parliament sufficient men of goodwill and high standing in the country to form both a worthy Arab Liberation Movement majority group and a respectable minority Opposition. If his plan had been successful, the President would have obtained political support for his reforming movement and would have to some extent disguised the fact that the régime is a military dictatorship.

4. In the event, though, the fears which I expressed in this despatch have combined to frustrate the President's hopes. The tactics of the coalition of the former Nationalist and People's Parties dissuaded

nearly all men of note and of former political experience from standing for Parliament, and internal dissensions within the movement itself, notably the break between the President and Dr. Rifa'i, lowered still further the calibre of the candidates.

5. As the President found that the chances of gaining his object were fading, he sought refuge in caution and fell back on his control of the country through the army and of the administration through his supporters in the Ministry of the Interior, Mohafazats and provincial offices. Thus at least he could ensure that the elections should proceed calmly and that his nominees should be elected.

6. Unfortunately for the President his tactics became obvious to all. The press, which had been allowed rather more scope than usual over the election period, was not slow to criticise officials in towns and villages for giving an unfair advantage to movement candidates and everybody knew that the Minister of the Interior had resigned because he could no longer stomach the abuses of electoral freedom which were carried out by the Secretary-General of the Ministry of the Interior on the President's orders. Thus the President, through an excess of caution, lost more in prestige within the country than he could hope to gain by his nominal electoral triumph.

7. One wonders how the Nationalist and Populist Opposition, who have now succeeded in their design to show up the President's lack of popular support and to diminish his prestige, will seek to exploit the situation. They may now try to whip up popular feeling in their favour by alleging that the President's election tactics and the results thereof show that he has lost his grip on the country. They may aspire to find and suborn disillusioned army officers without whose aid they could scarcely hope to overthrow the President. However, the prevailing note among the people throughout the election period has been one of indifference and one would not expect appreciable elements of the army, which, though voteless, has most to gain from the continuance of army rule, to rise against him. Perhaps the Opposition are pinning their hopes on a factor which I



think could conceivably bring about active resistance to the President, namely, a serious worsening of the economic situation here. It is a fact that at present, owing to the fall in world grain prices, the Syrians have been holding out against selling cheaply the greater part of their abundant cereals crop for 1953. A member of my staff has very recently seen thousands of sacks of grain from the Jezireh standing out in the open around the railway yards at Aleppo, Latakia and Homs. They appear to be very poorly protected against the rain which is to be expected at the beginning of winter. Unless these stocks are cleared

soon a serious loss may be caused to the Syrian economy. I will continue to watch closely what would seem to contain the elements of a potentially dangerous situation both from the economic and political angles.

8. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Ankara, Bagdad, Beirut, Cairo, Jedda, Paris, Tel Aviv and Washington and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

A. J. GARDENER.

EY 1018/24

No. 6

### OPENING OF THE RECENTLY-ELECTED SYRIAN PARLIAMENT ON OCTOBER 24, 1953

#### A Summary of President Shishakli's Speech

*Mr. Gardener to Mr. Eden. (Received October 31)*

(No. 174. Confidential) *Damascus,*  
Sir, *October 28, 1953.*

1. I have the honour to report that the recently-elected Syrian Parliament was formally opened by President Shishakli on the 24th of October. The last Parliament was dissolved in December 1951, shortly after the *coup d'Etat* which brought the President to power.

2. As a gesture to the façade of democracy which he has created, the President appeared in civilian clothes—the first time he has done so in public to my knowledge since he assumed power. Nevertheless, his arrival and departure were accompanied by all the trappings of a military dictatorship and the tone in which he delivered his speech was reminiscent of the strident oratory of Nazi Germany. Surprisingly enough the content of the speech, of which I enclose a summary,<sup>(\*)</sup> was moderate and not without a certain touch of statesmanship. The President spoke for over an hour during which he expounded the Government's internal and foreign policy. His speech was occasionally punctuated by prolonged applause, particularly in the section dealing with Palestine.

3. Coming so soon after the Qibya incident and at a time when the Jordan Waters dispute was uppermost in Syrian

minds, the President's references to Syrian-Israeli relations were comparatively mild. They confirm my belief that, while frontier incidents may well occur, the Syrians do not at present intend to mount a large-scale attack against the Israelis. For this, public opinion would have to be prepared and the President's speech, with its attendant publicity, would have provided a suitable opportunity for the opening of an intensive hate campaign.

4. The section of the President's speech devoted to the Mediterranean countries seemed to indicate a new line of thought in Syrian foreign policy. His friendly references to Greece, Yugoslavia and Italy and his conciliatory but firm approach to Syrian differences with Turkey make it clear that the present régime regard Syria as a Mediterranean no less than an Arab Power. Coupled with the surprising absence of any direct reference to the Soviet Union, the United States and ourselves, this section of the President's speech provides additional evidence of Syria's "neutrality"—her determination not to commit herself as between East and West and to avoid unnecessary entanglements with the Great Powers. The counterpart of this policy is to enter into closer relations with the smaller countries as a measure of political and economic reinsurance. Indeed, from

(\*) Not printed.

this point of view, the speech was more significant in its omissions than in its actual content.

5. The reference to France and North Africa is ambiguous. It is difficult to say whether the President intended his remarks as friendly advice or a veiled threat. At all events, my French colleague takes the rosier view and seems gratified that, alone among the Big Four, France qualified for a mention.

6. While the sections devoted to Arab unity, Middle East security and economic union with the Lebanon ran true to form, it is noteworthy that the President's insistence on the Arab fatherland did not prevent him from attacking Iraq (though not by name) as a centre for intrigues against the present régime. He made it clear, however, that Syria had no expansionist aims and that Arab unity must be achieved through a process of integration of which the Arab League is the first manifestation.

7. So far as internal politics are concerned the President seems willing enough to encourage a responsible opposition. He allowed a good deal of liberty to the press during the election campaign; but I am doubtful whether he will be able to main-

tain this attitude if, as seems likely, the opposition becomes more restive and its activities threaten to bring down the present régime.

8. The President's internal programme is ambitious but has clearly not got beyond the stage of generalities. Broadly speaking, the measures which he envisages are sensible and an essential part of any policy aimed at the economic and social development of the country. But it remains to be seen whether the Government, intent on building up the army, will be able to find the money or, indeed, the energy and trained staff to embark on a programme of this sort. Temporary palliatives rather than the steady pursuit of long-term objectives are characteristics of Syrian political life. I therefore doubt whether the present régime will prove different in this respect from its predecessors.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Cairo, Jedda, Beirut, Bagdad, Paris, Washington and Ankara and to the head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

A. GARDENER.

EY 1018/28

No. 7

### REPORT ON OPPOSITION TO THE SHISHAKLI RÉGIME

*Mr. Gardener to Mr. Eden. (Received December 12)*

(No. 183. Secret) *Damascus,*  
Sir, *December 7, 1953.*

Recently in Aleppo and Damascus I have met some former friends, prominent in the Nationalist and People's Parties, who have told me something of the opposition to the Shishakli régime. Their remarks I now have the honour to report, together with some observations of my own.

2. I think that the opposition parties, comprising the Nationalist, People's, Arab Socialist, Ba'ath and Syrian Popular Parties (but excluding the Communists), while gratified, were rather surprised at the smallness of the vote cast throughout the country for General Shishakli's party (the Arab Liberation Movement), who stood for election in October last. Naturally enough, they attribute this result to the coalition's boycott of the elections. This claim I consider rather exaggerated since I think disinterest in politics, which have now lost must of their novelty, and a reasonably good

economic situation also contributed to keep people away from the polls.

3. Though the Opposition is much encouraged both by the election result and by the fact that the coalition has managed, almost miraculously, considering the nature of Arab politics, to hold together, it is quite unable to decide how effectively to oppose General Shishakli in the political field. Their problem is the usual one experienced when a political party seeks to oppose by democratic means a régime which is dictatorial even though that fact is, in the case of Syria, to some extent disguised by democratic appendages, e.g., a Parliament. The Opposition cannot make its presence felt in Parliament where all the members are pro-Shishakli. Alternatively individual members of the Opposition fear to give overt expression to their views by holding public meetings, publishing tracts, &c., lest they be punished by a jail sentence. Perhaps they know each other too well to believe that a

sufficient number of their movement could, by banding themselves firmly together, make it impossible for General Shishakli effectively to take action against them.

4. Meanwhile all my friends spoke urgently of the need to unite Syria and Iraq—it being taken as axiomatic that as soon as this took place Jordan would immediately join in. Curiously enough the Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf States were not mentioned. According to their declarations some 80 per cent. of their membership was in favour of such a union and among their membership there were, they said, many former and present officers of the army who were personally opposed to General Shishakli. One of my friends expressed the view that the union would already have been brought about were it not for the opposition of Her Majesty's Government. According to him, the great majority of Iraqis would welcome the union but the highly placed Iraqis spoke with reserve on this matter out of respect for Her Majesty's Government's views. Another person took the view that the union could never take place as long as General Shishakli was in power since not only was he opposed to such a change for personal reasons, fearing loss of power, but also because Saudi Arabia was subsidising Syrian notables to prevent the increase of Hashemite power which would result from Syro-Iraqian union. According to this person, (though it seems curious that he should be so well informed), General Shishakli has already received over a £100,000 (sterling) from Saudi Arabia.

5. While the topic of Syro-Iraqian unity has been ventilated for some years, it is interesting that it should now come to the fore again and with such insistence. Apart from the basic principle of Arab unity, one motive, freely admitted to me by one person, was Syrian determination to share in the wealth of Iraq resulting from its oil. This person expressed the view that the Syrians, with their superior brains and culture [*sic*] would rapidly gain control of the two countries and divert much of the fertilising stream of Iraqi oil revenues to the benefit of the Syrian economy. Another probable motive, for which, however, I have no evidence, is that the Opposition parties may see in the union a chance of discrediting General Shishakli (notably for denying the Syrians a chance to put their hand in Iraqi pockets) and eventually of getting rid of him even were the final result to be the extension of Hashemite rule to Syria.

6. How far General Shishakli is aware of the views and possibly intrigues of the Opposition with Iraqi politicians, I am unable to say. He has a very good secret police force and there seems little doubt that he knows much of what is happening. For that reason, I think it would not be discreet to pursue my enquiries much further at the moment. However much he may know, General Shishakli has not so far taken repressive action against the Opposition leaders. Indeed his tactics as far as these latter are concerned are to invite them to join his Government, thereby serving two ends, firstly to give his dictatorial Government a veneer of democracy and secondly to sow dissension among the Opposition. So far, with the exception of Assad Haroun (now Minister of Justice) who in any case was not a prominent figure, no leading member of the Opposition has accepted his invitation, though he has offered ministerial posts to four of them during the last month.

7. These refusals are based on the following considerations: (1) to accept office now would imply the recognition of the Shishakli Constitution which no democrat can do without hopelessly compromising himself; (2) to accept office would not mean to gain power. General Shishakli concentrates all power in himself; (3) to accept office would be to bolster up the Shishakli régime at the expense of one's future prospects since all who have gone in with General Shishakli have resigned or have been dismissed with ignominy in a short time. Nevertheless, some of the coalition leaders are considering the possibility of offering to join the Shishakli régime in a block capable of outvoting (if their terms of Cabinet responsibility are accepted) the President and his followers.

8. With movements of the rank and file of the party General Shishakli's actions have been more vigorous and probably more successful. For instance, for a long time past the students of the Damascus University have, true to local tradition, been a focus of political activity in opposition to the power in authority. On 29th *ultimo*, after some planning, the students staged a demonstration. Their plan was to demonstrate in order to demand the return of the Hatay from Turkey—an unexceptionable motive from the Syrian angle—and to confine their activities to the university precincts. If the first phase of the demonstration were allowed by the police, &c., to gain momentum then the students planned to direct the demonstration against

General Shishakli and to emerge into the streets. In the event, General Shishakli intervened in the first phase with a heavy hand. Instead of using the civil police force obedient to lawful methods to break up the demonstration, he sent in a detachment of red-capped military police. These, by the use of tear gas bombs and fisticuffs, soon scattered the demonstrators, inflicting some damage on five or six students and keeping about thirty others under arrest for about twelve hours.

9. From the admittedly scanty information available it would seem that, while there is some and possibly growing opposition to

General Shishakli, his régime is not in any immediate danger. Nor does it seem likely that the union of Syria and Iraq could take place without overcoming the Opposition, backed by some degree of force if necessary, of General Shishakli.

10. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Beirut, Amman, Bagdad, Tel Aviv, Jeddah and Ankara, the Head of the British Middle East Office, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Cairo and to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Jerusalem.

I have, &c.

A. J. GARDENER.

## APPENDIX

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

EY 1012/1

## LEADING PERSONALITIES IN SYRIA

*Mr. Gardener to Lord Salisbury. (Received October 3)*

(No. 147. Confidential) *Damascus,*  
My Lord Marquess, *September 28, 1953.*

With reference to Damascus despatch No. 114 of the 10th of July, 1952, I have the honour to send you herewith the revised report on the leading personalities in Syria. I am grateful to Mr. Lambert for the work he has done in the preparation of this report.

I have, &amp;c.

A. J. GARDENER.

## Enclosure

## Leading Personalities in Syria, 1953

## INDEX

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. A'as, Shakir.                      | 41. Ghannam, Munir.                           |
| 2. Abdulkarim, Aziz, Colonel.         | 42. Haffar, Lutfi.                            |
| 3. 'Aidi, Abdul Karim.                | 43. Hajjo, Agha Hassan.                       |
| 4. Ablaq, Michel.                     | 44. Hakim, Hassan.                            |
| 5. Ajlani, Munir.                     | 45. Halabi, Fuad.                             |
| 6. Alajati, Ramizi.                   | 46. Haroun, Taufiq.                           |
| 7. Alexandros III, Tahhan.            | 47. Hatim, Anwar.                             |
| 8. Amri, Hamid.                       | 48. Hindieh, Grégoire.                        |
| 9. Antaki, Naim.                      | 49. Homsî, Edmond.                            |
| 10. Aphram I Mar Ignatius.            | 50. Houbby, Saïd, Colonel.                    |
| 11. Armanazi, Najib.                  | 51. Hourani, Akram.                           |
| 12. Arslan, Adil Amir.                | 52. Huneidi, Abdul Rahman.                    |
| 13. Asaf, Amin Abu, Colonel.          | 53. Hurmiki, Ignatios.                        |
| 14. Ashi, Suhail, Lieutenant-Colonel. | 54. Husseini, Ibrahim, Colonel.               |
| 15. Assali, Sabri.                    | 55. Ibish, Nuri.                              |
| 16. Assioun, Fathalla.                | 56. Jabri, Awni El.                           |
| 17. Atassi, Adnan.                    | 57. Jabri, Ihsan.                             |
| 18. Atassi, Faidi.                    | 58. Jabri, Majduddin.                         |
| 19. Atassi, Hashim.                   | 59. Jazzar, Kazem al.                         |
| 20. Atrash, Amir Hussan.              | 60. Kahhali, Nuruddin.                        |
| 21. Atrash, Solton Bin Hamud Pasha.   | 61. Kailani, Saadi (Shami Pir).               |
| 22. Azm, Abdurrahman.                 | 62. Kayyali, Abdurrahman.                     |
| 23. Azm, Khalid.                      | 63. Khalil, Abdul Hamid.                      |
| 24. Babil, Nassuh.                    | 64. Khankan, Rifa'at, Brigadier.              |
| 25. Bannud, Anwar Mahmoud, Brigadier. | 65. Khater, Murshid, Dr.                      |
| 26. Barazi, Husni.                    | 66. Kekhia, Rushdi.                           |
| 27. Barmada, Rashad.                  | 67. Khatib, Muhammad Subhi.                   |
| 28. Basmaji, Saïd.                    | 68. Khoja, Hamid.                             |
| 29. Bikdash, Khalid.                  | 69. Khouri, Faiz.                             |
| 30. Bitar, Salahuddin.                | 70. Khouri, Faris.                            |
| 31. Chatila, Khalid, Dr.              | 71. Kuzbari, Nader.                           |
| 32. Chebat, Anis.                     | 72. Lion, Mikhael Michel.                     |
| 33. Chebat, Fuad.                     | 73. Mahassin, Assad, Dr.                      |
| 34. Daham al Hadi, Shaikh.            | 74. Maizer ibn Abdul Muhsin al Jarba, Shaikh. |
| 35. Dandashi, Ali, Abdul Karim.       | 75. Maloyan, Hrant.                           |
| 36. Daoudi, Adib.                     | 76. Mardam, Abdurrahman, Colonel.             |
| 37. Dawalibi, Ma'ruf.                 | 77. Mardam, Haidar.                           |
| 38. Diab, Munir.                      | 78. Mardam, Jamil.                            |
| 39. Farra, Jamal.                     | 79. Mardam, Khalil.                           |
| 40. Fattayeh, Ahmed.                  | 80. Mardini, Abdul Hamid.                     |
|                                       | 81. Milqi, Raif.                              |
|                                       | 82. Mohaffel, Assad.                          |
|                                       | 83. Mubarak, Muhammad.                        |
|                                       | 84. Mudarris, Muhammad Khalil.                |
|                                       | 85. Mudarris, Sulciman.                       |
|                                       | 86. Muhairi, Issam.                           |
|                                       | 87. Muthim bin Muhaid, Amir.                  |
|                                       | 88. Nizamuddin, Abdul Baqi.                   |
|                                       | 89. Nourallah, Kemal.                         |
|                                       | 90. Pasha, Anwar Ibrahim, Dr.                 |
|                                       | 91. Qabbani, Nazmi, Dr.                       |
|                                       | 92. Qanbar, Ahmed.                            |
|                                       | 93. Qudsi, Nazim.                             |
|                                       | 94. Quwatli, Shukri.                          |
|                                       | 95. Rayyis, Hani.                             |
|                                       | 96. Rayyis, Munir.                            |
|                                       | 97. Rifa'i, Zafer, Dr.                        |
|                                       | 98. Rikaby, Akram.                            |
|                                       | 99. Sadat, Munir, Dr.                         |
|                                       | 100. Safa, Mohammad, Colonel.                 |
|                                       | 101. Sahnouli, Jean.                          |
|                                       | 102. Sawwaf, Husni.                           |
|                                       | 103. Sayigh, Maximos IV.                      |
|                                       | 104. Sha'alan, Fawwaz Amir.                   |

105. Shahin, George.
106. Sharif, Ihsan.
107. Shatra, Mahmoud, Lieutenant-Colonel.
108. Shatti, Shawkat.
109. Shehawi, Mustafa Amir.
110. Shishakli, Adib, Brigadier-General.
111. Shlash, Emir, Colonel.
112. Showra, Munir.
113. Shukair, Fud Shawkat, Brigadier-General.
114. Shuqairi, Ahmed.
115. Sibai, Mustafa, Shaikh.
116. Sidawi, Wadi.
117. Selo, Fawzi, Major-General.
118. Stati, Georgis.
119. Sultan, Abdul Raouf.
120. Surur, Hayyil, Shaikh.
121. Suweiti, Malatjus.
122. Taba'a, Azzat, Lieutenant-Colonel.
123. Tahsin, Said.
124. Tallas, Assad.
125. Tarazi, Falak (Miss).
126. Tayyara, Sami.
127. Tillawi, Said.
128. Trabulsi, Izzat.
129. Ustuwani, Ibrahim, Dr.
130. Zaim, Muhammad Said.
131. Zainuddin, Farid.

#### 1. A'as, Shakir

Born about 1903 near Qatana. Moslem. Studied economics in America and France and has been connected with various industrial projects in Syria. Counsellor at the Syrian Legation in Paris 1945-46. Prominent member of the Popular Party and editor of the party organ *Es Shuab*, which, after a brief reappearance during the autumn of 1949, ceased to publish as a result of the army's coup of December 1949. Elected to Constituent Assembly in 1949 as Deputy for Quneitra, Minister of National Economy and Agriculture in the Cabinet formed by Nazim Qudsi on 4th June, 1950. Minister of Finance in two successive Governments under Nazim Qudsi (q.v.) from September 1950 to 27th March, 1951. Minister of National Economy under Hassan Hakim (q.v.) from 9th August to 10th November and Foreign Minister under Ma'rif Dawalibi (q.v.) on 28th November. On 29th November he was imprisoned by General Shishakli after the latter's *coup d'Etat*. Released in April 1952. Opposed to the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953).

Was an ardent Nationalist and an active agitator under the Mandate; an opportunist of suspected leftist tendencies.

#### 2. Abdulkarim, Aziz, Colonel

Born in 1908. An Alouite Moslem. Became Inspector of Artillery with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1949, Director of Artillery in 1950, Commander of the Northern Region based on Aleppo in 1951 and full colonel and Officer Commanding, 4th Bureau, in 1952. Forcibly retired from the Army on January 1st for alleged implication in a plot against the régime, and now sells refrigerators. He is considered honest, conscientious, and practical, though pigheaded. Dislikes paper work. Reputedly Anglophobe.

#### 3. 'Aidi, Abdul Karim

Born 1903 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Educated in Damascus, but while still a student was sentenced to five years' imprisonment following the Crane Commission incidents and fled to Transjordan, where he met King Ali, whom he accompanied to the Hedjaz. Returned to Damascus in 1927; principal of the Ulmiyyeh College

1929-39. Fled to Bagdad to escape arrest by the French, but returned in 1941. Kaimakam of Douma 1943-45. Director of Police, Damascus, April 1945 to May 1946, during which period he was on very friendly terms with the officers of the British Military Security Mission and proved very co-operative. Mohafez of Dera' 1946-47. Appointed Mohafez of Hama December 1948. Was a leading member of the League of National Action. He is a close friend of Shukri Quwatli. Appointed Director of Tribal Control in July 1949. Appointed Mohafez of the Euphrates in June 1951. Appointed Head of the Office for the boycott of Israel early in 1953.

#### 4. Aflaq, Michel

Born about 1910 in Damascus. Christian. Studied at the Sorbonne and contributed to a Parisian Communist-controlled magazine. On his return, he taught history at a secondary school and wrote communistic articles for the press. He formed a group of student followers into the Ba'ath El Arabi Party in 1940, with Salahuddin Bitar (q.v.) as his lieutenant. He later said that he thought communism was inapplicable in Moslem countries. He was against Shukri Quwatli (q.v.) except when the latter opposed the French mandatory power. He was imprisoned under the Zaim régime, but afterwards, in 1949, he was appointed Minister of Education by Hashim Atassi (q.v.). Resigned after three months. He left for a protracted visit to South America in 1950. Returned to Syria but fled to the Lebanon with Akram Hourani (q.v.) and Salahuddin Bitar (q.v.) after the abortive anti-Shishakli plot at the end of 1952. Now reported to be in Switzerland.

#### 5. Ajlani, Munir

Son of Darwish Ajlani. Born, Damascus 1910. Sunni Moslem. Studied in France, where he graduated as doctor of law. Author of a book on Syrian Constitution. Elected Deputy 1936. At outset of Nationalist régime he, with Seif ed Din Ma'moun, Ahmad Samman and Mohamed Sarraj, organised the "Iron Shirts" (an organisation based on Nazi Brown Shirts) and was one of the commanders until it was taken over by Nizhat Mamluk 1937. Soon after, the movement was suppressed by French, following disorders in Aleppo and Latakia.

Although his age had been amended by Nationalists to enable him to become Deputy (minimum 30), he bitterly opposed Nationalists in Parliament. In 1938 he and Zeki el Khatib were arrested and tried for writing a manifesto attacking Nationalist Government, but were acquitted.

When Dr. Shahbandar returned to Syria, Ajlani supported him and remained one of his intimates until Shahbandar's murder in July 1940, when he gradually ceased his connexion with the party.

In September 1941 he was appointed head of Sheikh Taj ed Din's secretariat, and when on 17th April, 1942, Cabinet was reshuffled Sheikh Taj made him Minister of newly created Ministry of Youth and Propaganda in the Government of Husni Barazi. Was a member of Jamil Ulshi's Government (January 1943 to March 1943), occupying the same Ministry, the name of which was changed to Ministry of Social Affairs (January 1943). Married on 20th August, 1942, the daughter of Sheikh Taj. Appointed lecturer in Roman law at Damascus University, March 1943. Professor of Law College 1945. Deputy for Damascus 1947. Minister of Education in Jamil Mardam's second Government October 1947. Member of Syrian Delegation to Arab League Conference in Beirut October 1947.

Elected as an Independent to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949. An advocate of union between Syria and her Hashimite neighbours. Ajlani was arrested in September 1950 together with Lieut.-Colonel Bahij Kallas on charges of conspiring

against the security of the State with the Jordan Government. After trial by a military tribunal Ajlani was acquitted in January 1951. Minister of Justice in Ma'rif Dawalibi's (q.v.) Government, 28th to 29th November. Imprisoned by General Shishakli. Released in February 1952. Dismissed from the School of Law at Damascus University in March for refusing to take an oath to abstain from politics. Opposed to the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953).

Conceited individual, vacillating yet obstinate. Imprisoned by Zaim for publishing a pro-Hashemite article. Is considered a good speaker by Arabs.

#### 6. Alajati, Ramzi

Born Aleppo 1905. Moslem of an undistinguished Aleppo family. Unmarried. Studied engineering in Germany. Employed by the Société Syrienne de Filature et de Tissage in Aleppo before the war. Has twice been dismissed from this firm for dishonesty, but is now its technical adviser. Was a supporter of Dr. Rifa'at's (q.v.) Arab Nationalist Party in 1940, helped the supporters of Rashid Ali Gailani in 1941, and fled to Berlin when the British entered Syria. He may have worked with the Mufti there. Now a foremost member of General Shishakli's Arab Liberation Movement, and was commissioned to draw up its statute.

Not popular in Aleppo. Speaks German and some French.

#### 7. Alexandros III, Tahhan

Born in Damascus in 1869, where he was educated in the Greek Orthodox School. His brilliance and his steadiness led to his being sent to the Ecclesiastical College in Constantinople. In 1894 he returned to Damascus and two years later went to the religious academy in Kiev. Studied for a few years in Moscow. In 1903 he was appointed Bishop of Adana and Tarsus, but was badly received by the population there and resigned in 1906. In 1908 he was appointed Bishop of Tripoli and remained there until 1930, when he was elected Patriarch of Damascus by the Damascus electors but not by other members of the electoral college, who elected Arsanios, Bishop of Latakia. A schism resulted and the three other patriarchs (Alexandria, Constantinople and Jerusalem) sent representatives to conduct an enquiry into the election. They finally gave their opinion in favour of Alexandros. The schism, however, persisted until the death of Arsanios in 1932. Alexandros has been criticised for his weak handling of the Epiphanos revolt in 1935, which resulted in the formation of an independent church in Latakia in 1936. This independent community existed until 1939, when the French High Commissioner threatened to declare it illegal. Since that date Epiphanos and the Patriarch have been reconciled. The Italian attack on Greece in 1940 brought Alexandros into the open as an outspoken supporter of the Greek cause in spite of the presence in Syria of an Italian Armistice Commission and in spite of the pro-Axis leanings of the French Vichy authorities. As he supported the Greeks, so he supported the Allied cause under the same circumstances. The traditional Russian support enjoyed by the Orthodox Church in Syria having ceased in 1917, the Orthodox community under Alexandros has drawn nearer to the Moslem Syrian Government and, on the whole further away from the Latin Christian community which enjoyed the protection of the French Mandatory. Alexandros maintains relations with the Anglican Church both in Jerusalem and in England. When the Government of the U.S.S.R. acknowledged the Russian Orthodox Church in 1941-42 he began a correspondence with the Patriarch Sergei, and attended the election cere-

monies in Moscow of the Patriarch in January 1945. In 1950 was given honorary membership of the Theological Faculty at Kiev by the Metropolitan of Leningrad. Alexandros seemed at one stage very susceptible to Soviet blandishments but displeased Moscow by accepting an invitation to attend the St. Paul 19th Centenary celebrations at Athens. Subsequently visited Moscow using his journey to Athens as justification for, and as evidence of, his impartiality. Whilst there, was induced to make statements against the West. Returned with 20,000 dollars and a promise of the same sum annually, of which one instalment has now been paid. This and more is being used to reconstruct his residence and to gratify his present passion for building.

#### 8. Amri, Hamid.

Born in 1911; from Deraa. Sunni Moslem. Graduated from the School of Law at the Syrian University and afterwards studied in France. He has held the posts of Kaimakam of Kamichlé and Registrar-General in Damascus. In 1952, owing to his support of the régime, he was appointed acting Secretary-General of the Ministry of the Interior in place of Fuad Chebat (q.v.). He later became successively Acting Secretary-General of the Prime Minister's office, and, in August 1953, Assistant Secretary-General at the Presidency.

#### 9. Antaki, Naim

Born Aleppo 1900. Greek Orthodox. Educated in American University, Beirut. A lawyer, he formerly worked with Maître Louis Zaidé and was at one time Dean of the Order of Barristers at Aleppo. Has visited India. Secretary to the Syrian delegation in Paris for the conclusion of the Franco-Syrian Treaty. On his return he became, in July 1937, Director for Foreign Affairs, but resigned in December 1937, being dissatisfied with the way in which he was ignored by his Moslem colleagues whenever important decisions were to be taken. Took no part in politics from fall of Nationalist Government (1939) until selected as Minister for Provisional Government of Ata Bey Ayoubi, in which he held Ministries for Foreign Affairs and Public Works (March 1943-August 1943). Elected Deputy for Damascus, whither he had officially transferred his domicile, in 1943, but for many months took no active part in politics as a result of temporary loss of eyesight through overwork. Minister of Finance, April 1945 to August, in Fares Khouri's second Government (q.v.); member of Syrian delegation to United Nations Conference in San Francisco, April 1945, Minister of Finance and Acting Minister of Public Works in Saadullah Jabri's Government (q.v.), September 1945, but resigned December 1945. Minister for Foreign Affairs in Jamil Mardam's First Government, December 1946 until April 1947.

Is lawyer of Middle East Pipe Lines of the Iraq Petroleum Company, and of the Banque de Syrie. Was lawyer of Tapline but was not employed during the Zaim régime because he was said to get on badly with Husni Zaim (q.v.) whom he defended unsuccessfully when he was court-martialled in 1941. Successfully helped Middle East Pipe Lines to secure their way leave and refinery conventions in June 1949. Has been member of Syrian delegation at several United Nations Conferences and at many Arab League meetings. Attended Inter-Parliamentary Union Congress in Stockholm in September 1949 and in 1950 as a Syrian delegate. Formerly an ardent Nationalist, his views are now considerably more moderate although he retains his great admiration and friendship for Jamil Mardam. Refused nomination as a member of the Syrian delegation to the United Nations in 1952, ostensibly on grounds of ill-health.

but in fact because he does not wish to be involved with the present régime.

Very well educated, a tremendous worker and straightforward and sincere. Well disposed towards the British. Speaks excellent English and French.

#### 10. Aphram I, Mar Ignatius

Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Patriarch of Antioch. Born 1884 in Mosul. Educated by the Dominicans at Mosul and received into the Roman Catholic Church. Subsequently reverted to his original Church and was ordained in it. Became Patriarch with residence at Homs 1932. His community extends over the Middle East and India (whence he draws considerable funds). Very aware of his own importance and that of his Church. Like most Levant churchmen, mingles politics with religion.

#### 11. Armanazi, Najib

Born about 1900. From Hama. Sunni Moslem. Docteur en Droit ("à titre d'étranger") of Paris. Was private secretary to President Abed, and so anathema to Taj ed Din, who persuaded de Martel to oblige Abed to get rid of him. Appointed private secretary to President Atassi (July 1939) remained unemployed until appointed Secretary-General to President Quwatli, August 1943. Is brother-in-law of Jamil Mardam and his wife is General Shishakli's cousin. Appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, Poland and Czechoslovakia, January 1945. Syrian representative on Preliminary Committee for United Nations Organisation and member of Syrian delegation to United Nations Organisation meeting in London, November 1945; appointed Minister to Sweden September 1947. He is not generally considered to have made a success of his mission in London and was recalled in June 1949. Appointed Syrian Minister to India in March 1950. Appointed Minister to Turkey in March 1952. He evidently did not please his masters in Damascus and was relieved of his post in March 1953.

#### 12. Arslan, Adil Amir

Born about 1890. A Druze from the Lebanon (brother of Shekib Arslan, *q.v.*). Was pro-Turk in the War of 1914-18 and held a Kaimakamship in the Lebanon. Member of the Party of Independence 1919-20. Took an active part in the rebellion of 1925-26 and was condemned to death by the French. Amnestied in 1937. Expelled from Egypt in 1931 after anti-Italian agitations. Lived for some years in Iraq. Accompanied Syrian Prime Minister to Paris in 1937 to discuss ratification of Franco-Syrian Treaty, and subsequently returned to Syria, where he received a warm welcome. Has several times visited the United Kingdom, where he has business interests and where he was connected with Arab centre. Figured on the Palestine Black List (1937 and 1939). Worked with von Hentig and Roser from beginning of year 1941 to arrival of Allies in Syria, June 1941, when he fled to Turkey, where he is believed to have maintained contact with Syria. Is stated to have tried to put Druses against the Allies. In October 1941 became head of "Free Syrian Government" created by Vichy. Returned to Syria after the intervention of the President of the Republic in 1945 with the Allied Security authorities, appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Brazil January 1946 but did not proceed. Minister of Education in Saadullah Jabri's third Government June 1946. Minister of Education in Jamil Mardam's first Government December 1946 to October 1947. Member of Syrian Delegation to London Palestine Conference in autumn of 1946 and to United Nations Palestine discussions September 1947. Deputy for Jaulan 1947.

Member of Syrian delegation to United Nations Assembly in Paris in 1948. Was invited by Husni

Zaim to form a Government in March 1949 following *coup d'Etat* but did not succeed. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister on 17th April, 1949, in Colonel Zaim's first Government, but disagreed with Zaim's readiness to talk with the Israelis, resigned on 25th June, 1949. After death of Zaim published in a Beirut paper a series of revelations about his former master.

Appointed Syrian Minister to Turkey in October 1949. He left Ankara in January 1952, his departure probably being hastened by Turkish press accusations that he had been concerned in the organisation of an anti-Turkish demonstration in Aleppo, and by simultaneous Syrian press attacks on him for a statement he allegedly made to *Al Ahram* criticising Egypt's rejection of the Middle East Defence Plan. Now resides in the Lebanon.

Is a distinguished-looking and widely travelled person but retains many of the characteristics of his Druze ancestry—unreliability, cunning and outbursts of bad temper.

#### 13. Asaf, Amin Abu, Colonel

A Druze born in 1910 at Soueida. In 1949 he was promoted lieutenant-colonel and in 1951 given command of the 1st Brigade on the Israeli Front. In June 1952 he relinquished command of the 1st Brigade at Quneitra and was appointed Commander of the 5th Liwa at Deir-az-Zor. He has had twenty-two years' continuous service. Is not trusted by General Shishakli who is afraid to get rid of him because of his large Druze following in the Syrian army.

He played a leading part in three *coups d'Etat*—Zaim's in March 1949; Hinnawi's in August 1949 and Shishakli's in December 1949.

He is an unprincipled opportunist and a thug with little personality.

#### 14. Ashi, Suhail, Lieutenant-Colonel

Born about 1922 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. In 1948 he was A.D.C. to President Quwatli. During 1950 and 1951, he spent fifteen months on training courses in France. Later in 1951 he was appointed Head of the Syrian Air Force.

A good Commander who is respected by his officers and men. He is trusted by General Shishakli and is known to be a strong supporter of his régime.

He speaks fluent French and some English. He is of a cheerful disposition and rather above the average in intelligence.

#### 15. Assali, Sabri

Born Damascus 1901. Sunni Moslem. Took law degree in University of Damascus.

Being of Nationalist outlook, joined Nationalist Youth Movement and became its leader in 1940. Active in formation and control of Iron Shirts Movement until 1937, when it was disbanded. Joined up with Shukri Quwatli's Istiklal Party and became his principal lieutenant in 1940. Under Vichy régime was anti-Allied, and organised in May 1941 Committee for Defence of Iraq (*i.e.*, pro-Rashid Ali). Arrested by Allies in February 1941 and interned at Rashaya. Released March 1943, elected Deputy for Damascus that year. Was a leading member of the League of National Action, which exercised considerable influence in Damascus and on which the President of the Republic placed considerable reliance.

Minister of Interior in Fares Khouri's second Government (*q.v.*) April to August 1945. Minister of Justice in Fares Khouri's third Government, August-September 1945. Minister of Justice and Acting Minister of Education in Saadullah Jabri's second Government, September 1945 to April 1946. Minister of Interior and Minister of Health in

Saadullah Jabri's third Government, April-December 1946. As Minister of Interior showed himself ready to take strong action to prevent disorders and to suppress anti-Government activity. Elected deputy for Damascus in 1947. Secretary-General of the National Party. Pretended to co-operate with the late Husni Zaim in 1949 but in reality worked against him. Lay low towards the end of Zaim's régime but after Zaim's fall came out into the open again as an active worker for the National Party. Opposed to the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953).

He is unmarried, and drinks and gambles heavily.

#### 16. Assioun, Fathalla

Born 1899 in Aleppo. Educated at the Frères School and the French School of Law, Aleppo. A well-known Aleppine lawyer of the Greek Catholic Community. A moderate member of the National *bloc* and a supporter of Saadullah Jabri. Deputy for Aleppo in 1936 and again in 1943. On the resignation of Naim Antaki (*q.v.*) from Saadullah Bey's second Government was appointed Minister of Public Works, January until April 1946. Minister for Public Works again in Hashim Atassi's Cabinet of August 1949.

Resigned from National Party in September 1949. Elected to Constituent Assembly in November 1949 as member of the Popular Party. Appointed Minister of Health in the Cabinet formed by Khalid al Azm in December 1949. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in May 1950. Again Minister of Health under Hassan Hakim (*q.v.*) from August to November 1951 and under Ma'rif Dawalibi (*q.v.*), 28th to 29th November, 1951. Appointed Minister of Public Works and Communications in Government formed in July 1953.

A somewhat colourless individual with a reputation for probity and high principles.

#### 17. Atassi, Adnan

Born Homs about 1905. Sunni Moslem. Son of Hashem Atassi (*q.v.*). Lawyer. During Nationalist Government was appointed Syrian Vice-Consul and attached for instruction to French Consulate, Istanbul. Married a Turkish lady. Elected Deputy for Homs 1943 and again 1947, and President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Syrian Chamber. Minister Plenipotentiary to France and Belgium, January 1945 to March 1946. Minister of Justice and Public Works in Jamil Mardam's First Government, December 1946 to June 1947. Represented Syrian Chamber of Deputies at the International Parliamentary Conference at Geneva, September 1945. At one time suspected of pro-Axis activities and was known to be in frequent contact with the Grand Mufti during the latter's residence at Versailles. A prominent member of the Parliamentary Constitutional Party. He was one of the leading Deputies in opposition to Shukri Quwatli's régime. Sent as Minister to Paris in 1949 and headed Syrian Delegation to Lausanne talks with Israel under auspices of Palestine Conciliation Commission in the same year.

Was relieved of his post in the autumn of 1952. Opposed to the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953). Intelligent and well educated.

#### 18. Atassi Faidi

Born about 1905. Homs. Moslem. Son of former Mufti of Homs and cousin of Hashem al Atassi (*q.v.*). Educated in France (law). Had no political career, but was Chief of Municipality of Homs. Became Minister of Education in the Hassam al Hakim Government on its formation in September 1941, but resigned early in March 1942 in pique. Chosen to be Minister of Justice, Education, Social Affairs in Provisional Government at

Ats Bey Ayoubi (March 1943-August 1943). Returned to his job as head of the Municipality, Homs, until 1946, when he resigned. Deputy for Homs, 1947.

Invited by Husni Zaim to form a Government following *coup d'Etat* of March 1949 but refused to take office as Minister of Education when his attempts failed. Accepted post of Minister of National Economy in Hashim Atassi's Cabinet of August 1949. Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949 as a member of the Popular Party. Minister of Justice in the Cabinet formed by Khalid al Azm in December 1949. Resigned in May 1950. Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Deputies 1950-51. Minister of Interior under Nazim Qudsi (*q.v.*), 23rd to 27th March, and Minister for Foreign Affairs under Hassan Hakim (*q.v.*), 9th August to 10th November, 1951. In the latter capacity he made a speech in Parliament attacking the Four-Power Middle East Defence proposals and resigned after quarrelling with the Prime Minister on this issue, thereby precipitating the fall of the Government. Owns a newspaper, *El Suri El Jedid* (The New Syria), which is generally anti-British in tone. In this paper he opposed General Shishakli's new Constitution and the latter's "election" as President (July 1953).

Weak character and very boastful, being over proud of his education.

#### 19. Atassi, Hashim

Born about 1865 in Homs. Moslem. Good landed family. Prime Minister and President of the Constituent Assembly under Feisal, and President of the Constituent Assembly of 1928. Went to Mecca to be one of the three mediators in conflict between Imam Yahya and Ibn Saud. Succeeded Hanano as leader of the Syrian Nationalist *bloc* in January 1936. Led the Syrian delegation that went to Paris in March 1936 to negotiate a Franco-Syrian treaty after the disturbances of January-March 1936. With the Syrian delegation in Paris his moderating and soothing influence was of great assistance to the successful conclusion of the treaty negotiations. Elected President of the Syrian Republic, 21st December, 1936. On his election as President he resigned the leadership of the Nationalist Party, which was taken over by Shukri Quwatli. His influence over the party grew less, however, as the Nationalist Government took the bit more firmly between its teeth. Resigned with the fall of the Nationalist Government on 7th July, 1939, and retired to his property at Homs, where he had built himself a pleasant villa during his tenure of office. Had conversations with General Dentz about resuming office in March 1941 and with General Catroux in September 1941 and again in March 1943, but on each occasion without result. Did not participate in 1943 elections and did not stand for the presidency. He began to be regarded as a respectable old man of moderate opinions, but somewhat *passé*. During the Cabinet crisis of December 1948 was invited but failed to form a Government. After the *coup d'Etat* by the late Colonel Hinnawi of 14th August, 1949, formed a provisional coalition Cabinet. Elected temporary Head of State by the Constituent Assembly in December 1949, pending the drawing up of a new Constitution. Elected President of the Republic on 5th September, 1950, the day when the new Constitution was formally adopted and the Constituent Assembly became the Chamber of Deputies. Retired to his property at Homs after General Shishakli's *coup d'Etat* of 29th November 1951. Associated himself with opposition to draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953).

During the 1936 Franco-Syrian Treaty talks he showed himself to be a Nationalist who could temper courage with discretion. After becoming President

he continued to show a dignified tact and restraint. However, he has always been a figure-head rather than a leader.

#### 20. Atrash, Amir Hassan

Born about 1908. Head of the House of Aeré, the leading house of the Atrash family. Was Mohafiz of Jebel Druse until he was appointed Minister of Defence in Husni Barazi's Government (April 1942 to January 1943), taking the place occupied by his uncle, Abdul Ghaffar Pasha, until the old man's death in March 1942. Was again Minister of Defence in Jamil Ulshi's Government (January 1943 to March 1943). Deputy for Soueida 1943 and president of Defence Committee of Syrian Chamber, but placed on reserve in December 1947. Re-appointed Mohafiz of Jebel Druse (April 1943) and resigned from the Chamber. The full integration of Jebel Druse in the Syrian Republic in 1945 was largely due to his influence. In May 1945 he sponsored the mutiny of the Groupement Druse against their French officers and n.c.o.s. to whom he gave sanctuary in his house. He considers that the Syrian Government are not sufficiently appreciative of the "leading rôle" the Druse have played both in 1925 and 1945 against the French. Amir Hassan is a typical Druse. Despite his pretence of being pro-British, he did nothing to help the Allies during the Syrian campaign; and nothing to hinder. He can, however, sometimes be "jollied" into favourable action. Flirted with the Nationalists, with the French and with King Abdullah. His following in the Jebel Druse was split by Shukri Quwatly in 1948 and his control is no longer absolute.

He is ill-educated, stubborn, ambitious and avaricious.

#### 21. Atrash, Soltan Bin Hamud Pasha

Born about 1875 in the Jebel Druse. (Soltan is a name, not a title.) Family originally from Rashaya, migrated to Jebel Druse in 1860's and became paramount Druse family there. Soltan is the head of the Kraiye house, which is junior to the Aeré house, headed by Emir Hassan (q.v.). Under the Turks, Soltan adopted wary tactics and avoided a conflict. In 1925-26 took a leading part in the Druse revolt and became a centre round which the various insurgent leaders moved. When the revolt was crushed Soltan Pasha fled to Transjordan with his closest adviser, the Christian Oqla Qutami. There he found sanctuary, although condemned to death in absence by French court-martial. In 1937 returned to the Jebel but took no active part in politics, leaving Emir Hassan to dominate the Jebel. He retired to Kraiye, content to live on his past glory, which remains considerable. During the campaign of 1941 took no part. In March 1942, after the death of Abdul Ghaffar Pasha of Atrash, at that time Minister of National Defence, was offered the Ministry of Defence, but refused it. Soltan Pasha and Oqla Qutami were awarded pensions for life by the Syrian Government as patriots and heroes of 1925-26 revolt.

During the past few years he has on several occasions openly showed his dissatisfaction with the Damascus Government on the grounds that insufficient deference is paid to him and his past record. Opposed to the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953).

Ill-educated, of small intelligence and with a reputation for meanness, he is crafty, and managed to inspire in the insurgents of 1925 confidence in his leadership. He remains the most important Druse. Is inclined to be pro-British and was anti-French. He feels, however, that the British let him down, as they told him not to intrigue against the

Fighting French (and he abstained from doing so), but allowed the French to intrigue against him, undermining his influence in the Jebel Druse.

#### 22. Azm, Abdurrahman

Born 1916 at Hama, Moslem. Son of a wealthy landowner. Educated at the American University of Beirut he is a graduate of the Jesuit School of Law, Beirut. Related to the family of Khalid al Azm. Elected to Parliament in 1947 and to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949, as an Independent. Appointed Minister of Finance in the Cabinet formed by Khalid al Azm in December 1949. A bitter enemy of Akram Hourani. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in May 1950. Reappointed Minister of Finance under Khalid al Azm (q.v.), 27th March to 30th July, 1951, and again under Ma'ruf Dawalibi (q.v.), 28th to 29th November, 1951. Imprisoned by General Shishakli and released in April 1952.

Serious-minded, intelligent and a hard worker.

#### 23. Azm, Khalid

Born about 1900 in Damascus. Moslem. Son of Mohamed Pasha al Azm. Did not at first take an active part in politics, except an occasional intervention in agricultural matters. Member of the Municipal Council. Managing director of the National Cement Factory. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of Justice in the Bukhari Cabinet, March to May 1939.

Under the influence of the Italian Disarmament Commission, was appointed by Vichy French (General Dentz) on 2nd April, 1941, as "Chef d'Etat" and Minister of Interior. His régime lasted until September 1941, when it was replaced by "Independent" Syrian Government with Shaikh Taj ed Din as President. During Syrian campaign he collaborated closely with Vichy French to preserve order in Damascus. During whole period of office he showed himself to be under the influence of the Nationalists—especially of Shukri Quwatli. Deputy for Damascus 1943 and Minister of Finance in Saadullah Jabri's Government (August 1943—October 1944). Minister of Finance and Ravitaillement in Fares Khouri's first Government October 1944 to April 1945. Minister of Finance and Defence in Fares Khouri's third Government August to September 1945. Minister of National Economy and Justice in Saadullah Jabri's third Government, April 1946. Was acting Prime Minister on several occasions and resigned in December 1946. Appointed Minister to France, Belgium and Switzerland, May 1947. Syrian representative on Franco-Levant States financial negotiations December to February 1946-47.

Was recalled to Syria by Shukri Quwatly in November 1948 to help solve the Cabinet crisis which followed the resignation of Jamil Mardam and took office as Prime Minister. Under his Government, which lasted till March 1949, a forward economic policy was pursued. He was arrested by Husni Zaim but quickly released. After the second *coup d'Etat* of August 1949, in which Zaim was executed, he became Minister of Finance.

Became Prime Minister in December 1949, shortly after the "disciplinary action" taken by General Adib Shishakli against Sami Hinnawi and Asad Tallas. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in May 1950. Formed Cabinet of Independents on 27th March, 1951; resigned 30th July.

A rich landowner, very pompous, conceited and overbearing. A bit of a bully, but like all bullies, if stood up to, caves in. He is intelligent, well-educated, and more widely read and has wider interests than most of his compatriots. Can be very obstinate and stuffy, however. Has ambitions to become President of the Republic, but might be handicapped in this by his present wife, who was formerly a cabaret dancer. Suspected at one time of pro-German sympathies, but

probably incorrectly; he has shown himself ready to co-operate with the Western Powers, particularly the French.

#### 24. Babil, Nassuh

Born Damascus about 1905, of obscure parentage. Sunni Moslem. Arrested with Ajlani (q.v.) in 1938 for his support of Shahbandar against Mardam. Remained supporter of Dr. Shahbandar until latter was assassinated in July 1940, when he and Fuad Qodmani became leaders of Shahbandar Party. He and his party failed in 1943 elections and the party disintegrated. He is co-proprietor of the Damascus paper *El Yom* and president of the Press Syndicate. Came under suspicion of the Syrian Government of being in touch with the French regarding the setting up of a quisling Government during the bombardment of Damascus in May 1945. Visited the United Kingdom in December 1946. He has latterly been engaged in recruiting for General Shishakli's Arab Liberation Movement.

A mediocre individual who, however, has the respect of a large section of the Syrian press.

#### 25. Bannud, Anwar Mahmoud, Brigadier

A Moslem, son of a Turkish officer, born about 1900 in Aleppo. In 1949 became Inspector-General of the Army and later in the year was promoted Deputy Chief of Staff and Chief of State. In 1951 he fell out of favour with Colonel Shishakli who posted him to Ankara as military, air and naval attaché. He is a relative of Nazim Qudsi (q.v.). After over 27 years in the army was forcibly retired on January 1, 1953, for alleged implication in a plot against the régime.

He was popular with his brother officers owing to the fact that he is both lazy and not a strict disciplinarian. He has no independent opinions but is known to be anti-Communist and in favour of the Fertile Crescent.

#### 26. Barazi, Husni

Born about 1882. In Hama. Sunni Moslem. Son of Suleiman Agha Barazi, a rich landed Kurdish family of Hama. Minister of the Interior under Dantad, 1926. Deported on suspicion of assisting rebels in July 1926. Member of Constituent Assembly, 1928. Opposed by Nationalists in elections of 1932 and was not elected. He was, however, appointed Minister of Education in Taj ed Din's Government in March 1934, and resigned with Shaikh Taj in February 1936. Appointed Mohafiz of Alexandretta in January 1937, he sought to prove his attachment to his new Nationalist masters by intriguing with the Arab parties in the Sanjak against the Turks and the Mandatory, but was ejected in November 1937. Appointed Mohafiz of Damascus in March 1942. On fall of Hassan el Hakim Government (April 1942) was appointed by Shaikh Taj ed Din President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior. Succeeded Faiz Khouri as President of the Commission Supérieure of the Wheat Office, in which capacity he promised to secure large quantities of wheat, but did not succeed. Quarrelled with Shaikh Taj ed Din, posing as Syrian patriot, thinking he had the support of his colleagues. Matters came to a head in January 1943, when all his colleagues resigned and he was obliged to retire.

During the Cabinet crisis of November 1948 endeavoured to return to politics as a virtual dictator. Was appointed by Husni Zaim for a short time in 1949 to be Mohafiz of Aleppo and Deputy Military Governor of Syria and ran his district autocratically but well. Resigned owing to rivalry with Zaim, whom he thought of challenging for the presidency. Was later imprisoned by Zaim for a short time and might have been executed had Zaim not preceded him.

Until he assumed office was heavily in debt. Before the visit to Syria of the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry on Palestine in 1946 he volunteered to His Majesty's Consul, Damascus, to testify before the Commission in favour of the Jews. Professes to be well disposed towards Britain. Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949 as an Independent. A bitter enemy of Akram Hourani (q.v.). Fundamentally unreliable, he has since the end of 1949 posed as the bitter opponent of the Army's interference in Syrian politics but this did not prevent him from remaining on good terms with the military clique for a time. Imprisoned by General Shishakli after his *coup d'Etat* of 29th November. Released March 1952. Opposed to the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953).

A man of some strength of character, but devoid of morals and intelligence. Intriguer and accused in the past of trafficking in hashish.

#### 27. Barnada, Rashad

Born about 1910. Moslem. Member of a leading Aleppo family. Deputy in 1947 but failed in the elections for the Constituent Assembly in 1949. A prominent lawyer and now President of the Aleppo Lawyers' Syndicate. One of the original members of the Popular Party. Minister of Interior in the Cabinet formed by Nazim Qudsi on 4th June, 1950. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet on 9th March, 1951. Minister of Interior again under Hassan Hakim (q.v.), August to November 1951.

Opposed to the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953).

#### 28. Basmaji, Said

Born about 1905. Of an undistinguished Aleppo family. Sunni Moslem. Educated at a secondary school. He has spent most of his life working for the Aleppo municipality and has never shown great ability. He was connected with Dr. Rifa'i's (q.v.) Arab Nationalist Party in 1940 and was interned by the British in 1941. Joined General Shishakli's Arab Liberation Movement and was made head of the Aleppo branch. Also, in 1952, appointed president of the Municipal Council. Not popular in Aleppo.

#### 29. Bikdash, Khalid

Born about 1910 in Damascus, of Kurdish origin of a family named Kutrash, Sunni Moslem. Educated in Damascus, where he studied philosophy. Became secretary of Communist Party in Damascus, 1928. The Communist Party was persecuted by the French and in 1934, following the distribution of Communist leaflets, was suppressed, Bikdash being condemned to several years' imprisonment. He escaped to the U.S.S.R., where he attended the Oriental School of Propaganda. He claims that, while in the U.S.S.R. he met Stalin. In 1936 went to Paris and obtained a special amnesty through the Syrian delegation which was negotiating the Franco-Syrian Treaty. Returned to Syria in January 1937 and resumed leadership of the Communist Party. Again went into hiding in Damascus at the outbreak of war when Communist Party was suppressed, remaining there until Germany attacked Russia (June 1941). After attempts to reach an understanding with Shukri Quwatli (q.v.) by which he should be included on the latter's electoral list in 1943, Bikdash stood as an independent candidate and failed. He failed also in the 1947 elections. For the last six years he has devoted his energies to organising the activities of the Communist Party, and is known to have been in touch with members of the Soviet Legation. Stated to be owner of a Communist paper in Beirut. Tried to stand as an Independent candidate for the Constituent Assembly in November 1949, but his application was refused. He was in the U.S.S.R. in the autumn of 1952 and is believed to be still there.

Popular among the working classes and a good speaker. Said to receive substantial subsidies from Russia. Speaks Arabic, Kurdish, Russian, French. Ambitious and prepared to make trouble. Married Wissal Farha, schoolteacher and a Communist, in 1951. A strong capable leader who remains as dangerous and elusive as ever.

### 30. Bitar, Salahuddin

Born 1912 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Unmarried. Graduated in law at the Sorbonne, Paris. On his return to Syria in 1935 he worked for seven years as a teacher. During that time he acted as lieutenant to Michel Aflaq (*q.v.*) in building up the Ba'ath el Arabi Party, of which he is still secretary-general. Once called himself a Communist but claims to have disavowed Marxism on the grounds that it is too materialistic. Suspected of being implicated in plotting with army officers against General Shishakli at the end of 1952 and took refuge in the Lebanon with Akram Hourani (*q.v.*) early in January 1953 and is now believed to be in Switzerland.

Unimpressive and xenophobe.

### 31. Chatila, Khalid, Dr.

Born about 1910 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Secondary education in Syria. Later studied and obtained doctorate in philosophy from Paris as a result of a scholarship provided by French authorities. On returning to Syria worked in Ministry of Education.

Married a relative of Khalid al Azm (*q.v.*) in 1949, through whose influence he was appointed as counsellor at Syrian Legation in Paris.

Appointed Secretary-General of the Presidency by Mushsin Barazi after Zaim's 1949 *coup d'Etat*. Appointed Minister to Spain in February 1953.

### 32. Chebat, Anis

Born 1908 in Damascus. Greek Orthodox. Younger brother of Fuad Chebat (*q.v.*). Educated at the Orthodox and Lazarist Schools in Damascus, and later obtained a degree in Civil Engineering at the Beirut Engineering College after which he entered Government Service.

His first appointment in 1929 was with the technical office of the Public Works Department at Damascus. He was promoted in 1936 to be chief of the office, a position which he held until 1944. He was then appointed Chief Engineer for the Southern area, and in 1949 promoted to Director of Communications in the Ministry of Public Works and Communications, and also Director of the Department of Concessionary Companies.

A friendly and capable civil servant. Speaks fluent French and fairly good English.

### 33. Chebat, Fuad

Born 1907 in Damascus. Brother of Anis Chebat (*q.v.*). He and his brother owe much of their success to hard and diligent work and the influence and support of the Orthodox Patriarchate with the French Mandatory Government. Fuad Chebat took a Doctorate of Law at a French University and later became a Professor of Law at the Syrian University. He first entered Government service in 1931 and was employed in the Prime Minister's office, Accounts Department; he was also an advisory member of the Council of State.

Has published four books on law and administration and drafted the Syrian Nationality Law. He is a prominent member of the Greek Orthodox Community and is also a member of the Church Council. Visited England under British Council auspices 1951. Acting Minister of the Interior after General Shishakli's *coup d'Etat* of 29th November, 1951, reverting to Acting Secretary-General on formation of Government on 9th June, 1952. Later

superseded by a supporter of the régime, and became Administrator and Professor of Constitutional Law at the University.

Efficient and respected. Dislikes the military régime but can suggest no positive alternative. Friendly to Britain.

### 34. Daham al Hadi, Shaikh

Born 1895. Bedouin chief and head of the Shammar Khrossa. Disputes the leadership of all the Shammar of Syria with his cousin, Meizar Abdul Muhsein, who actually heads the Shammar confederation. Also claims hereditary leadership of the Iraqi Shammar, from which he was evicted by the British. He is therefore bitterly jealous of Sheikh Slook and continually contrives to undermine his position. Appointed Deputy of the Jezirah tribes in 1936. Exiled in 1942 for obstructing road constructions and wheat purchase. In spite of his being in exile, was elected Deputy in 1943 for Jezirah tribes and in 1947; returned to Syria 1944.

A proud and truculent sheikh, ignorant of his limitations and of world conditions. Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949. Said to be sympathetic to Popular Party.

### 35. Dandashi, Ali Abdul Karim

Born 1905 at Tel Kalakh. Member of the Danatch clan. A Sunni Moslem. Studied at the Islamic College in Beirut till 1928. Joined the scout movement in 1923 and has remained associated with it. In 1937 he took a group of Syrian scouts to the jamboree in Holland, travelling by way of the Balkans, Austria and Germany, returning through France and Italy. On this occasion he stayed for some time in Berlin and Potsdam, where he associated with Syrians in Germany, notably one of the Dalati brothers, who are associated with him in the scout movement. From 1937 has devoted most of his time to scouting and was elected Chief Scout in November 1941. Is associated with the League of National Action, which was founded by his cousin and of which his colleague in the scout movement, Dr. Rushdi Jabi (*q.v.*), is leading member. His arrest was ordered by the French in February 1942, but the order was cancelled at the end of March, and, shortly after, he paraded at the head of the scouts at the review of the Syrian gendarmerie.

Dandashi played an important part in the dispute between the scout movement and the Ministry of Youth and Propaganda under Munir Ajlani (*q.v.*), opposing Government control of the scout movement. After the Allied occupation showed himself willing to co-operate and took part with his scouts in passive defence exercises. Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949 as a member of the Popular Party. Now reported to be prominent in General Shishakli's Arab Liberation Movement.

Energetic and a disciplinarian.

### 36. Daoudi, Adib

Born about 1920 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. An ambitious young man who was formerly the local correspondent for *Al Misri* and is now Syrian Delegate to the Advisory Commission of U.N.R.W.A., and the head of the Syrian Palestine Arab Refugee Institution. He was a delegate at the 1952 Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Speaks English and French and is outwardly friendly. Probably co-operative only as far as his personal interests allow.

### 37. Dawalibi, Ma'raf

Born 1907 in Aleppo. Moslem. A lawyer. A graduate of the Syrian University, he also holds a Paris University Doctorate of Law. From 1936 to 1938 he was a member of the National Party and was active in both Aleppo and Damascus. During the war was in France at the time of the German occupation and was in close touch with the ex-Mufti Haj

Amin Hussaini, Rushid Ali al Keilani and the other pro-German Arabs. Collaborated with the Vichy Government. Helped the ex-Mufti to escape from France in 1946. Elected to Parliament in 1947, he left the National Party and joined the Popular Party in 1948. Member of the Moslem Brotherhood. Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949. Appointed Minister of National Economy in the Cabinet formed by Khalid al Azm on 27th December, 1949. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in May 1950.

While in Cairo in April, 1950, made a statement indicating that the Arabs would prefer to become a Soviet Republic rather than be Judaized as a result of American pressure. This statement caused something of a sensation and was the signal for a noisy demand in Syria, chiefly by the Moslem Brotherhood, for a rapprochement with the Soviet Union. Although the statement did him harm in responsible Syrian circles it boosted his popularity among the masses. Minister of National Economy under Nazim Qudsi (*q.v.*), 23rd to 27th March, 1951. After the fall of Hassan Hakim's (*q.v.*) Government on 10th November he managed to form a Government, at the second attempt, on 28th November, but on 29th November its members were imprisoned by General Shishakli. Released in April 1952, but later taken into custody again. Refused to take the oath of non-participation in politics as a civil servant (lecturer at Syrian University) and was accordingly dismissed in May 1952. Released from prison by General Shishakli as an act of clemency in June 1953.

### 38. Diab, Munir

Born about 1910. Sunni Moslem. A Damascene. A member of a family well known in Syrian commerce and whose primary interests are in the local textile industry. Appointed Minister of National Economy on 9th June, 1952. Resigned on formation of new Government in July 1953.

Speaks German and very little French. Not at all impressive.

### 39. Farra, Jamal

Born 1911 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Obtained a diploma for electrical engineering in France. In 1940 became an Inspector of the Ministry of Education and in 1945 Director of Secondary Schools. Appointed Acting Secretary-General of the Ministry of Education in 1947 and Secretary-General in 1948. In that year he was also a member of the Syrian National Commission for U.N.E.S.C.O. In June 1949 was appointed Chargé d'Affaires in Brussels and in October 1950 Acting Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs after General Shishakli's *coup d'Etat* on 29th November, reverting to the post of Secretary-General on the appointment of a Government on 9th June, 1952. Appointed Minister to Norway and to Sweden in November 1952; accredited also to Denmark in January 1953 and to Finland in July 1953.

Has an ingratiating manner which at first tends to conceal an obvious lack of sincerity. Fundamentally he dislikes all foreigners. A climber, who will support anyone whom he thinks will help him in the upward path in Syrian affairs.

### 40. Fattayeh, Ahmed

Born 1912, Deir-*ez-Zor*. Sunni Moslem. Obtained a degree in Paris. Holds degree in law from Syrian University.

Secretary-General of Ministry of Education. His career has been devoted to education and he has not taken part in politics.

Xenophobe, and usually obstructive in his dealings with the British Council and with the U.N.E.S.C.O. Mission, which left early in 1953.

### 41. Ghannam, Munir

Born about 1900. Sunni Moslem. Native of Homs. Lawyer. Graduate of Syrian University.

Appointed Minister of Justice on 9th June, 1952. Resigned on formation of new Government in July 1953.

### 42. Haffar, Lutfi

Born Damascus 1888 of a family of well-established merchants. Sunni Moslem. Minister of Public Works under the Damad, 1926, and deported for Nationalist sympathies some months later. Member of the Constituent Assembly, 1928. Accepted post as administrator of Ain Fijeh waterworks, 1931. Deputy in 1932 and again in 1936 when he was elected vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies. Minister of Finance in the second Jamil Mardam Cabinet (July 1937 to February 1939). Prime Minister, 23rd February to 14th March, 1939. Implicated in the murder of Dr. Shabandar in July 1940, and fled to Bagdad. Returned to Syria after the charge against him had been dropped and the Government of Directors replaced by the moderate Nationalist Government of Khaled Bey el Azm (*q.v.*) in April 1941. Deputy for Damascus 1943 and again in 1947 and Minister of Interior in Saadullah Jabri's Government (August 1943–October 1944), but resented the latter's interference in his Department. Minister of Interior in Fares Khouri's third Government, August–September 1945. Minister of Interior in Saadullah Jabri's second Government, September 1945 to April 1946. Although practically illiterate is interested in the newspaper *Al Inshaa*, which is nominally owned and directed by his cousin, Wajih el Haffar.

Not an extreme Nationalist, but has a lengthy record of political activity in connexion with Palestine—assisted Nebih el Azmi to organise the Arab Conference at Bludan in 1935 and was appointed chairman of the Syrian Committee for the Defence of Palestine. Opposed the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953). Not a strong personality though he was an important member of the Nationalist *blae* and has been president of the Damascus branch of the National Party since 1948. A good second fiddler. Suffers from heart trouble.

### 43. Hajjo, Agha Hassan

Born about 1898 near Mardine, Turkey. Head of Haverkan tribe of Kurds which moved into Syria about 1922. No specific education, but reads and writes Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish. With his late father took prominent part in Separatist Movement in the Jezirah. Resides at Hassetché. Was pro-Ally and co-operative during the war; elected Deputy for Kamishli 1943 and in 1947, but did not enjoy the confidence of the National Party owing to his former connexion with the French.

### 44. Hakim, Hassan

Born Damascus about 1886. Moslem. Was an Inspector of Finance and later Director of Posts and Telegraphs in Faisal's Syrian Government of 1918–20. He was held responsible for delay in sending off Faisal's reply to General Gouraud's ultimatum in July 1920. (It was the absence of a reply that provided the excuse for General Gouraud to order French troops to advance on Damascus.) Exiled by the French but had fled to Egypt and later went to Iraq. Then he obtained an appointment as manager of the Arab Bank's Jaffa branch. Amnestied in 1937, he returned to Damascus and, as a loyal Nationalist, was appointed Director-General of Waki. Minister of Education in Bukhari Cabinet, March to May 1939. Later became Director of Government Agricultural Bank. In September 1941 became President

of Council and Minister of Finance in "Independent" Syria under the presidency of Sheikh Taj ed Din, as proclaimed by French. Quarrelled with President over latter's financial requests and with French over non-granting of various concessions of form to independence. Because of his rather stubborn and limited capacity was on bad terms with his colleagues, whom he was unable to pull together. Was undoubtedly pro-British, but was very indiscreet in falling under the influence of unworthy counsellors. He gave his enemies a chance to attack him because he openly proclaimed himself as opposed to the feudal landlords and because, although materially honest, he provoked laws to benefit himself in small ways. In April 1942 he was forced to resign in rather an unpleasant manner, after defying the President, and reverted to former employment as Director of the National (Syrian) Agricultural Bank until July 1944, when he retired. Subsequently criticised the actions of the President of the Republic and the Government in letters and memoranda and was outspokenly in favour of a Hashimite monarchy in Syria. Applied to visit London at the same time as the Emir Abdullah early in 1946, but was not granted a visa as his visit did not come under any category admissible at the time and it was not considered desirable to make any exception. Failed in 1947 elections. Elected as an Independent to the Constituent Assembly in November, 1949. Appointed Minister of State in Nazim Qudsi's Cabinet in September 1950. Resigned in October. A close friend of Munir Ajlani (q.v.). Has openly advocated that Syria should join the Western camp against Russia. Prime Minister and Minister of Finance from August to November 1951 when he resigned following a difference of view with his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Faïdi Atassi (q.v.) about the Middle East Defence Pact. He has since refused to take any part in public life. Opposed to the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953).

#### 45. Halabi, Fuad

Born Damascus about 1905. Sunni Moslem. Married to an Atassi of Homs; formerly civil judge in Damascus and Homs. Appointed Acting Mohafiz of Homs 1942, confirmed in October and maintained in office by Saadullah Jabri's Government. Reputed honest as judge, and showed himself an astute and capable administrator. After his definite appointment as Mohafiz, however, he displayed political ambitions and showed himself reluctant to take a strong line when notables were concerned. Appointed early in 1946 as Administrative Inspector at Ministry of Interior. From December 1946 Director of Tribal Affairs but was sacked in 1949. 1951: appointed Governor of Jebel Druze, a post which he held for a few months only. Appointed Director of the P.T.T. in 1952.

#### 46. Haroun, Taufiq

Born about 1918. Sunni Moslem. Member of a prominent Lattakia family.

Graduate of the School of Law at Damascus University.

Appointed Minister of Public Works on 9th June, 1952. Resigned on formation of new Government in July 1953.

Is quiet and unimpressive, though said to be ambitious. Appears to have owed his Ministerial post as much to family influence as to personal qualifications.

#### 47. Hatini, Anwar

Born 1910. Roman Catholic. An Aleppine Christian educated in France, graduate of law from Paris University. Teacher of French Literature at the Tajhiz School, Damascus, 1933-36.

Secretary to Prime Minister 1937-39. Assistant Chief of Diwan at Prime Minister's Office 1939-42. Director of Propaganda and Social Affairs April 1942-April 1943. Chief of Service in Prime Minister's Office April 1943-May 1945. Director of Prime Minister's Office May 1945. Appointed Second Counsellor at Ministry for Foreign Affairs March 1946 in addition to his other post. August 1947 sent on mission to London and was guest of British Council for a month. Combined the posts of secretary-general of the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers and director of the Prime Minister's Office, until he had to make way for a supporter of the régime in September 1952. He became Inspector-General of the Foreign Service until, in March 1953, he was appointed first Syrian Minister to the Holy See.

Intelligent. A supporter of Jamil Mardam and a friend of Munir Ajlani, he has frequently shown himself to be well disposed towards the British.

A staunch Roman Catholic, he appears to dislike (and be distrusted by) his Greek Orthodox brethren.

#### 48. Hindieh, Grégoire

Armenian Catholic Archbishop of Aleppo. Born 1895 in Aleppo. Educated in the Armenian Seminary in Rome. Member of a wealthy Aleppo family with political connexions. A brother was at one time Minister of Finance. Formerly known as a Francophile; after his brother's resignation from the Finance Ministry he became a vehement critic of the French Administration in Syria, and later became just as critical of the Syrian Nationalist Administration.

A prelate whose interests are more temporal than spiritual and who is not much trusted locally.

#### 49. Homsî, Edmond

Born 1901, Aleppo. Greek Orthodox. Son of Albert Homsy, educated A.U.B. Switzerland and England, private banker with interests in Egypt, who did lucrative business with Turks during the 1914 war. He is an important shareholder in the Banque de Syrie et du Liban. Was Syrian Minister of Finance (March to October 1936). Member of Syrian delegation for the conclusion of the Franco-Syrian Treaty in 1936. Elected Nationalist Deputy for Aleppo, December 1936. Took unofficial charge of the British Consulate at Aleppo during 1941 evacuation and has always been outspoken in his British sympathies. However he is apt to be influenced by his wife who is pro-French. Was made honorary Commander of the British Empire. April 1946 appointed Minister of Finance in Saadullah Jabri's third Government when he instituted investigation into irregularities in Finance Ministry. Failed in 1947 elections on President's list. Appointed Syrian Minister to London (and to Brussels) in June 1949. Relieved of his post in October 1952 on the grounds that he was out of touch with developments at home. Now back in Aleppo.

Intelligent and pleasant, if somewhat indolent. Hostile to General Shishakli's régime.

#### 50. Houbby, Saïd, Colonel

A Moslem, born in 1902 in Damascus. In 1946 became Director of the Deuxième Bureau and in 1949 he was appointed military attaché in Washington. In 1950 he became Deputy Assistant Chief of Staff and later that year was given command of the Syrian air force. In 1951 he left the air force and was made Commander of the Armoured Forces and in 1952 was, in addition, made Commander of the Southern Region. Appointed military attaché in Ankara in April 1953.

He is a reserved but astute officer, slow but efficient and above the average in personality. He

is a sick man as a result of a serious motor accident which injured his head.

He speaks Arabic and French, but no English.

#### 51. Hourani, Akram

Born Hama about 1915. Sunni Moslem. Lawyer. Extremist leader of Youth Party of Hama. Joined Iraqi revolution 1941 at head of a small number of young men; met German commission in Homs and Aleppo. Deputy 1943, and Secretary of Chamber of Deputies. Intelligent and has considerable influence over young men, including sons of notables, in spite of his anti-feudal views. Was engaged in active agitation against the Feudal Party (Ghaleb Azm, Abdul Oader Kailani (q.v.)) and escaped arrest together with Raif Milqi (q.v.) only by intervention of the Prime Minister (February 1944). A leading member of the Constitutional Liberal Party and a most active critic of the Government. Proprietor and chief editor of *El Yaqza* first published May 1946—which from the first issue has adopted a violently anti-British attitude, and is notable even amongst Syrian newspapers for the inaccuracy of its news. Re-elected Deputy for Hama 1947. Member of Parliamentary Constitutional Party 1948. Actually fought for six weeks with volunteers in Palestine early 1948, and urged severe measures in Government. An intimate counsellor of Zaim in the early days of the *coup d'Etat* of March 1949 and is said to have been responsible for many of the reforms which were then initiated. Broke with Zaim and after the latter's death became Minister of Agriculture in Hashem Atassi's Cabinet of August 1949 in which he was the most dynamic member. Elected as an Independent to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949. Headed the group in the Assembly which strongly opposes Syro-Iraqi union and found powerful support among Army officers, notably Lieut.-Colonel (then) Adib Shishakli (q.v.) with whom he threw in his lot. Appointed Minister of Defence in the Cabinet formed by Khalid al Azm in December 1949. In January 1950 formed his own Radical-Socialist Party the "Arab Socialist Party." Resigned from the Cabinet in April 1950. Married early in 1951. He rarely appeared in public. He has tried to rally all Left-wing elements to his party, and has turned a blind eye to the penetration of his party by known Communists. Though formerly a close friend of General Shishakli, they have latterly become estranged. Hourani was suspected of being implicated in plotting with some army officers against the régime at the end of 1952 and took refuge with Salahuddin Bitar (q.v.) in the Lebanon early in January 1953. From there he carried on propaganda and intrigues against the régime until asked by the Lebanese Government to leave in June 1953. Now reported to be in Switzerland.

Knows no foreign language. A man with considerable drive but vain and irresponsible. Ambitious and ruthless.

#### 52. Huneidi, Abdul Rahman

Born about 1910. Sunni Moslem. A member of a land-owning family of Deir-az-Zor. Has a French wife. Studied in France.

Appointed Minister of Agriculture on 9th June, 1952. He later became Minister of the Interior as well. Reappointed Minister of Agriculture in the new Government formed in July 1953.

#### 53. Hurani, Ignatios

Born about 1900 in Hama. Greek Orthodox Bishop of Hama. As usual with Levant ecclesiastics, more interested in politics than church matters and tries to get his finger in every pie. Supporter of Nationalist bloc, was elected vice-president of the Committee for the Defence of Palestine at the Arab Conference in Bludan 1937. At meeting at Aleppo (21st November, 1942) to commemorate Hanano, Nationalist

hero, made a speech to the effect that there were no minorities. This roused uproar in the Christian and French circles. A speaker of repute, in July 1947 was sent by the Patriarch to Brazil, where he addressed ex-patriate Syrians.

Clever and unscrupulous.

#### 54. Husseinî, Ibrahim, Colonel

Born 1913 in Homs. A Moslem. In March 1949 he commanded the Military Police. In August 1949 he was arrested and imprisoned following the Hinnawi *coup d'Etat*. In October 1949 he was reinstated to his command. He was appointed Director of the Deuxième Bureau in January 1950. In August 1950 he was arrested for the murder of Colonel Mohamed Nasser, Commander of the Air Force. After acquittal, he left for France. In 1952 he returned at General Shishakli's request and was made Director-General of Police and the Sûreté. Early in 1953 he was promoted to colonel as a reward for stifling a plot against the régime in which senior army officers were involved.

He is a very intelligent and able officer who is feared for his ruthlessness. At the present moment he is close to General Shishakli, but the latter must realise that he is one of the most likely rival contenders for power. Speaks fluent French.

#### 55. Ibish, Nuri

Born about 1895 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Educated at A.U.B. and Cirencester Agricultural College. Appointed by Saadullah Jabri's Government to be Director-General of Tribal Affairs (March 1944) on the session of the Tribal Department by the French to the Syrians. Resigned November 1946. Elected Deputy for Damascus 1947, receiving highest number of votes cast, which made him aspire to the Presidency. Has spent a great deal of money on the improvement of his farm near Damascus. Was co-opted Minister of Agriculture in Husni Zaim's two Cabinets and worked hard to reform his Ministry. Appointed Minister of the Interior in Government formed in July 1953.

Well disposed towards Britain.

#### 56. Jabri, Awni El

Born Aleppo about 1910. Sunni Moslem. Nephew of Ihsan el Jabri (q.v.) and of the late Saadullah el Jabri, and brother of Shakib Jabri, Syrian Minister in Tehran. He studied law in Switzerland, but was at first refused permission to practise in Syria because his diploma was considered obscure. Joined the Faculty of Law at the University in 1950, but later turned to farming. Appointed Minister of National Economy in July 1953. Had not previously taken an active part in politics, though, like the rest of his family, his sympathies have probably been with the Nationalist Party.

Said to have an excitable temperament. Has a French wife.

#### 57. Jabri, Ihsan

Born Aleppo about 1885. Sunni Moslem. Brother of the late Saadullah al Jabri. Deputy for Aleppo in the Parliament at Constantinople during the Turkish régime and for a time aide-de-camp to the Sultan. Returned to Aleppo after the war and proceeded to Damascus, where he was Chamberlain to King Faisal during the latter's short reign. Fled with King Faisal at the time of the French occupation of Damascus, first to Palestine and then to Iraq. In 1924 he was delegated by the Syrian Arabs to go to Geneva to uphold the cause of Syrian independence at the League of Nations in company with the Druse leader, the Emir Shakib Arslan. Sentenced by the French to permanent banishment from Syria and



remained in Europe working for Syrian independence from 1924 to 1937. Amnestied in April 1937 and was Monafiz of Latakia in November 1937 to April 1939. Was actively associated with bread strikes in Aleppo, March 1941. Arrested by the British in Aleppo in September 1942 as potentially dangerous, but released in September 1943. Failed in 1947 elections; president of the Aleppo branch of National Party 1948. An enthusiastic Nationalist of influence who still has personal ambitions.

#### 58. Jabri, Majduddin

Born in Aleppo in 1910. Sunni Moslem. Son of Kemal Bey Jabri and nephew of Saadullah Bey Jabri; married to Hale, daughter of Ihsan Bey Jabri (brother of Saadullah Bey). Educated at Aleppo and for five years at Robert College, Istanbul. Spent three years, 1932 to 1935, in United States (B.A., Illinois University) where he studied engineering. Served for six years in the Public Works Department of the Palestine Government and seconded for service in Transjordan (1937-43). Secretary-General of Aleppo Municipality 1944-45 and President of the Municipality since July 1946. Took office as Minister of Public Works in Khaled el Azmi's non-party Government of December 1948. Although invited by Husni Zaim to act as public works adviser he refused and was apparently against the régime. Also refused the post of Minister of Public Works in Hashim Atassi's Cabinet of August 1949. Withdrew to Beirut at the end of 1949 and has apparently given up any idea of returning to Syrian politics. Much influenced by his wife. Was recently appointed by the Government of Kuwait to be head of the Public Works Department there.

Well educated, practical, moderate and less susceptible to party and family influences than most Arabs. Devotes his spare time to exploiting his father's many estates. Speaks excellent English and good French; the main hope for the future of the Jabri family.

#### 59. Jazzar, Kazem al.

Born about 1899 in Hama. Sunni Moslem. Secretary-General, Ministry of Public Works.

Civil engineer, studied and qualified (through a scholarship) in France. Appointed as an assistant in Damascus Municipality.

Later appointed Director of Concessions Control Office. Returned to Ministry of Public Works, to his present post, during Hassan Hakim's Government in autumn of 1951.

Speaks French and some English. Married. An efficient and circumspect civil servant who has steered clear of politics. Well disposed to Britain.

#### 60. Kahlali, Nuruddin

Born 1908 in Homs. Moslem. Educated at Robert College, Istanbul, where he obtained his B.Sc. in electrical engineering; later went to Illinois College, United States and graduated in Civil Engineering. On his return to Syria in 1929 he worked for two years as engineer with the Damascus Tramway and Electricity Company, and from 1931-34 was employed in a similar capacity with the Cement Company in Damascus.

He started his career as a Civil Servant in 1935 when he entered the Public Works Department as engineer for the Damascus Municipality, a position which he held until 1941. He was then appointed Chief of the Irrigation Department, and promoted to be Director of Irrigation in 1944. During that year he represented Syria at the International Air Conference at Chicago, and also accompanied the Syrian Delegation to the United Nations Organisation Conference in San Francisco in 1945.

He was Secretary of the Syrian Engineers' Association when it was founded in 1942. In 1947

he was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Public Works and Communications, and in 1948 was promoted to Secretary-General of the Ministry. Appointed director of the Lattakia Port Project in 1951.

Nuruddin Kahlali, who is regarded as the most qualified engineer in the Government service, is a hard worker and has devoted a good deal of time as technical adviser to the Government in connexion with the various Syrian economic development schemes, notably the Yarmouk Hydro-Electric Scheme.

Kahlali speaks fluent English, and reasonably good French.

#### 61. Kailani, Saadi (Shami Pir)

Born about 1904 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Brother of Akram Kailani (q.v.). Made no secret of his admiration for the Germans. Appeared as an agitator in Waziristan before or at the outbreak of war and was bought off by the payment by the Government of India of a large sum of money through our Consulate in Damascus. In touch with Germans and ourselves during war and asked to be sent to India under our supervision but offer refused. Was found in the British Zone of Germany in the autumn of 1945; representations were made by the Foreign Office to the War Office that all possible steps should be taken to prevent him returning to Syria. The India Office took the same view as regards India. He returned to Damascus, however, in July 1946 in a French ship. Failed in 1947 elections. As a result of high gambling and election expenses his finances are shaky. Lay low, mostly in Beirut, during Zaim's régime. Implicated with his brother Akram (q.v.) in the murder of the Oadhi of Damascus early in 1950 and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. Now released and in financial difficulties having lost much of his property through the defection of his business partners. A close friend of Ali Dandashi (q.v.). Has a German wife.

A cruel and ruthless person of considerable ability, who would probably be ready to support any régime from which he could expect to benefit.

#### 62. Kayyali, Abdurrahman

Born 1890 in Aleppo. Sunni Moslem. Educated in the American University of Beirut. Married into the Mudarres family. King Faisal's Chamberlain at Damascus. Prominent Nationalist but inclined to preach moderation. Elected Nationalist Deputy for Aleppo in 1936. Minister of Education and of Justice in the former Nationalist Government. Went to Geneva in December 1936 to put forward the Arab claim for Alexandretta. Sent from Damascus to Aleppo in February 1937 to apologise to the French for the Iron Shirt clash with the French Gendarmerie. Minister of Education and Justice in the second Jamil Mardam Cabinet (July 1937 to February 1939). Minister of National Economy in the Lutfi Haffar Cabinet (February to March 1939). His moderate party was swamped in July 1943 elections by Saadullah Jabri, but he was eventually elected himself and was Minister for Justice in Saadullah Jabri's first Government August 1943 to October 1944. Minister of Justice and Minister of Public Works in Fares Khouiri's first Government October 1944 to April 1945. Became a leading member of the Constitutional Liberal Party and lost no opportunity of attacking succeeding Governments in the Chamber of Deputies. Failed in 1947 elections. Member of Syrian Delegation to United Nations General Assembly in Paris, 1948. Became President of the National Party in 1949. Opposed to the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953). Intelligent, but not masterful.

#### 63. Khalil, Abdul Hamid

Born in Bósra Eskisham (Hauran) about 1916. Sunni Moslem. Graduate of law at Damascus University. Appointed to the Judiciary about 1940 and held the rank of magistrate until recently appointed Secretary-General of the Ministry of the Interior. He is also Secretary-General of General Shishakli's Arab Liberation Movement.

He is a particularly unimpressive individual about whose past little is known.

#### 64. Khankun, Rita'at, Brigadier

A Moslem of Kurdish origin from Khanaquin. Born in Damascus about 1904. Educated at the American University at Beirut, became lieutenant-colonel in 1942, colonel in 1949 and brigadier in 1952. Later became Director of Conscription, Recruiting and Military Justice. Retired from the army and appointed Minister of National Defence in Government formed in July 1953.

He has served mainly on the staff and has never commanded troops. He is lazy, of scant intelligence and does not command the confidence of his subordinates. He is, however, likeable and makes friends easily. He speaks Arabic, Turkish, French and some English.

#### 65. Khater, Murshid, Dr.

Born about 1888. Maronite. Lebanese by birth but has lived in Syria since 1920. Graduate of Jesuit University, Beirut. Doctor of medicine. Former professor at Syrian University (retired) but still operates there occasionally and is senior surgeon at the Military Hospital at Mezzé. Well known as a capable surgeon. Has never openly taken part in politics until appointed Minister of Public Health on 9th June, 1952. An intimate friend of Munir Sadat (q.v.). Resigned on formation of new Government in July 1953.

An easy-going individual, financially independent, but fond of money. Speaks excellent French. No English.

#### 66. Kekhia, Rushdi

Born 1905. Belongs to a well-known middle-class Aleppo Moslem family. Studied law at Damascus University. Elected Deputy for Aleppo, December 1936, he became known for his vehement speeches in the Syrian Assembly. Resigned from the National bloc, March 1939. Deputy for Aleppo in 1943 in opposition to both the Jabri and Kayali groups, and remained opposed to them in Parliament; re-elected in 1947 on list of Parliamentary Constitutional Party. He is known and admired as a man sincerely devoted to constitutional practices, which he carried with him into the Popular Party whose leader he became in August 1948. His opposition to the Mardam and Khaled el Azm Cabinets in 1948 and his obstinate refusal to associate himself with the Zaim régime made him extremely popular. After the overthrow of Zaim he accepted the post of Minister of the Interior in Hashim Atassi's predominantly Popular Party Cabinet. In November 1949 elected to the Constituent Assembly, of which he was President. A strong protagonist of the idea of Syro-Iraqi union.

President of the Chamber of Deputies from September 1950 until March 1951 when he resigned following the fall of Nazim Qudsi's Government. Imprisoned after General Shishakli's *coup d'Etat* of 29th November, 1951, released, April 1952. Opposed to the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953).

A man of some character and seriousness of purpose but not much brain.

#### 67. Khatib, Muhammad Subhi

Born 1911 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Studied in Syrian elementary schools. Showed an interest

in social affairs from an early age. Began his career as a labourer in a textile factory. There he organised the first Syrian trade union in 1929. He devoted his leisure to study and the spread of the trade union movement. By 1936 he had created unions in several trades in Damascus. In 1937 he succeeded in winning official approval for a Syrian Labour Law. In 1946 he carried his work a stage further by securing the passage of a comprehensive and progressive Labour Law. He has succeeded in unifying the Trade Union Movement in Syria and is president of the General Council of Syrian Trade Unions. Since 1933 he has used journalism as an instrument in his struggle. His main contributions have appeared in the local magazines of which he has been editor at various times. Early in 1950 he began publishing a trade union newspaper called *Al Ummal*. Bitterly opposed to communism and has often been attacked by Syrian Communists. Visited the United Kingdom as guest of His Majesty's Government in 1951, and the United States as guest of United States Government in 1953.

He is a man of high principle, intelligent, industrious and slightly self-effacing in company.

#### 68. Khoja, Hamid

Born 1907 in Raqqa and of a family of religious teachers. Sunni Moslem. Educated at the Franciscan School at Aleppo and at the Teachers' Training College, Aleppo. Studied law in Paris, where he obtained his degree. Deputy for Raqqa 1932-36 and again 1943. Appointed Kaimakam 1937 first at Ziwiyeh and then at Jerablous. A leading member of the Constitutional Liberal Party, he failed in the 1947 elections as the result of the intervention of the Syrian President in favour of his own candidate. Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949. Secretary of the Republican Liberal bloc formed by Abdul Baqi Nizamuddin (q.v.) early in 1950. Minister of Public Works in Hassan Hakim's (q.v.) Government from August to November 1951.

His influence might prove important in the tribal area where he is the recognised political leader of a number of influential tribal sheikhs. Has shown readiness to co-operate with the British and is an agreeable and cultivated widely travelled individual.

#### 69. Khouiri, Fais

Born about 1891 in the Lebanon. Greek Orthodox. Educated by Irish Presbyterian Mission, at American College, Beirut, and at Law School, Istanbul. Originally Protestant, but converted to Orthodoxy in 1935 as latter community had representative in Chamber and Protestants had not. Elected to the Constituent Assembly, 1928, as mouthpiece for his brother Fares (q.v.). Noted Nationalist. Dean of the Faculty of Law at the Syrian University, Damascus, from year 1941 to 1943. Nationalist Deputy in 1932 with great following among university students. Played a leading part in the first session of Parliament and again during the general strike of 1936. Re-elected Deputy in December 1936. Head of the Damascus Bar, 1936 to 1940. Minister of Finance and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs in the fifteen day ministry of Lutfi Haffar, 1939. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Hassan al Hakim, September 1941 to April 1942, and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of Finance in Husni Barazi Government (April 1942 to January 1943). Took strong line with the French over concessions of form to Syrian independence, but was unsuccessful. In agreement with Lebanese, struggled to obtain control of "Intérêts Communs." Framed budget for 1942 balanced (on paper) with proceeds from new taxes on income and agriculture. Was president of Commission supérieure to monopolise Syrian wheat, and

displayed considerable energy and courage. Was attacked by landlords, &c., as being a Christian and corrupt, and forced to resign presidency of Wheat Office in July 1942. When Jamil Ulshi replaced Husni Barazi as Prime Minister (January 1943) Faiz Khouri gave up the Ministry of Finance, retaining only the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; one of the reasons for this being that it was felt that, as a Christian, he was not in a strong position to enforce taxation projects. He remained in office until the fall of the Ulshi Government, March 1943. His association with the non-parliamentary régime of 1941-43 brought him into disfavour with the Nationalists, who refused to include him on their electoral list. He stood as an independent and failed, retiring to Beirut where he remained for a year. Appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Moscow April 1945; remaining there for a few months only he returned to Damascus and was appointed as Acting Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, October to December 1945. Placed on pension 1946. Appointed Syrian Minister to Washington, June 1947. Head of Syrian delegation to United Nations Assembly, September 1949 and 1950. Appointed ambassador to London in September 1952.

A man of moderate political opinions and considerable intelligence with undoubted ambition but has the reputation of being difficult to work with. Speaks good English and French. Despite his religion, is on good terms with Moslems.

#### 70. Khouri, Faris

Born about 1875 in the Lebanon. Brother of Faiz Khouri (q.v.). Educated at American College at Beirut, Protestant. Was a dragoman at British Consulate, Damascus, from 1899 to 1909. A member of the Turkish Parliament in 1913. Lawyer. Minister of Finance under Faisal, when he discreetly lined his pockets. Minister of Public Instruction under Damad, 1926. Deported some months later on suspicion of assisting rebels, thus winning martyr's crown of glory and confidence of Moslems. Well-off. Chairman of board of directors of National Cement Company; was professor of the School of Law, but resigned in 1941; legal adviser to the municipality until 1942, when he passed it to his son Suhail. Took leading part in the general strike of 1936. Went to Paris in March 1936 as member of the Nationalist delegation to negotiate a Franco-Syrian treaty. Deputy, December 1936. Elected President of the Chamber of Deputies (Speaker) on 21st December, 1936, in recognition of his services to the Nationalist bloc in the treaty negotiations. From fall of Nationalist Government in 1939, played no active part in politics until 1943, when he was re-elected Deputy by a bare majority and again in 1947. President of the Chamber August 1943 to October 1944 and again October 1945 to October 1946. Prime Minister and Minister for Interior and for Education, October 1944 to April 1945. Member of Syrian Committee which signed Charter of Arab League, March 1945; Prime Minister April to August 1945. Head of Syrian Delegation to United Nations Organisation Conference at San Francisco April 1945. Prime Minister August to October 1945. Head of Syrian Delegation to United Nations Organisation Conference at London, November 1945, and to Round Table Conference on Palestine in London August 1946 and to United Nations General Assembly Session October 1947. Syrian Representative on Security Council December 1946-48. On his return to Syria enjoyed the position of revered elder statesman but has refused to accept any ministerial post. Although he gave Zaim's régime his blessing he criticised what he considered to be the unconstitutional nature of some of Zaim's acts.

Represents Syria on the United Nations International Law Commission. Came out strongly against the clause in the draft Constitution (April 1950) making Islam the religion of the State. Replaced by Farid Zainuddin (q.v.) in June, 1951 as head of the Permanent Syrian Delegation to the United Nations, but headed the Syrian Delegation to the General Assembly in the autumn of 1951.

Is a prudent and skilful, if unscrupulous, politician, who is, despite his religion, on good terms with the Moslems and not with the Christians. Talks excellent English. A likeable but obstinate old man; his age and heart trouble have made him incapable of withstanding the rough and tumble of Syrian politics.

Is clearly now intellectually well past his prime.

#### 71. Kuzbari, Nader

About 40 years of age. Sunni Moslem. Comes of a well-to-do Damascus family. Holds a French doctorate of law (1937).

Formerly a member of the Council of State, he was promoted to the rank of counsellor in this body in 1951. He has also held a number of judicial and administrative posts.

Married to a daughter of the former Nationalist Party leader Lutfi Haffar (q.v.), Acting Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from the end of 1952 to August 1953.

Rather pompous and, probably, anxious to prove himself a good pan-Arab. Very ineffective. He has an agreeable and cultivated wife.

#### 72. Lian, Mikhael Michel

Born Aleppo 1900. Greek Orthodox. Educated American University, Beirut. Professes an extreme form of nationalism. Was secretary at Aleppo of the Nationalist bloc before he was elected Deputy for Aleppo in July 1943. In August 1945 he organised a large number of Deputies to present a petition to the President of the Chamber asking for the resignation of Fares Khouri's second Government. August to November 1945 Minister for Foreign Affairs in Fares Khouri's third Government. April to December 1946 Minister of Public Works in Saadullah Jabri's third Government. Failed in the 1947 elections on the President's list, but became Minister of National Economy in Jamil Mardam's 1948 Government. Pretended to co-operate with Husni Zaim but secretly worked hard against him. Opposed to the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953).

Speaks some English and French and has shown himself anxious to be well regarded by the British. He is an assiduous political intriguer and enjoyed Saadullah Jabri's support but otherwise appears to be stupid and incompetent.

#### 73. Mahassin, Assad, Dr.

Born 1913 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Secondary education at the Pères Lazaristes School, Damascus. A doctor of law of the Paris Faculty 1935. Formerly Dean of the Lawyers' Association of Damascus. A professor at the Faculty of Law, Damascus. A member of the Board of the Electricity Company and of the Broadcasting Council. Appointed Minister of Justice in Government formed in July 1953.

Speaks good French and some English.

#### 74. Maizer ibn Abdul Muhsin al Jarba, Shaikh

Born 1907. Became head of the tribe of Shanmar of Zor in 1907, when French recognised him instead of Mishaal al Fares. Distant cousin of Daham al Hadi (q.v.), who aspires to his place. Deputy 1936-39. In 1941 had contacts with German Armistice Commission in Beirut. Deputy in 1943 and 1947 for Badiat el Jezireh.

Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949.

Of a peaceful disposition and weak in character. Was always led by French.

#### 75. Maloyan, Hrant

Armenian Catholic. Born Istanbul 1895; graduate of Istanbul College; teacher Military College Istanbul 1915-16. Took part in 1914-18 war with 53rd Turkish Division at Ghaza. Chief of the Armenian Division in the French army at Beirut in 1918. As second lieutenant took part in occupation of Adana and Cilicia; promoted to rank of captain 1918; was appointed to Syrian Gendarmerie at Aleppo, Acre and Antioch 1921 to 1925, during Syrian revolution was transferred to Damascus 1925-26 in charge of Gendarmerie Transport Company; from 1935-37 was Officer Commanding, Gendarmerie Hama, Deir-ez-Zor and Euphrates. 1939-41 Officer Commanding, Gendarmerie, Damascus, Mohafazat. 1942-45 was promoted to rank of lieutenant-colonel and appointed Officer Commanding, Gendarmerie, First Legion. In August 1945 was promoted to rank of colonel and appointed acting Commandant-General of Gendarmerie. He took no part in the *coups d'Etat* of Zaim and Hinnawi although he could easily have cashed in. He was retired after the second *coup d'Etat* in August 1949. Became B.O.A.C. sales representative in Damascus in 1952.

Extremely able and intelligent and it was largely due to his capability that the Syrian Gendarmerie has been reorganised and has reached a reasonable standard of efficiency. Always ready to co-operate with the British but since the *coups d'Etat* of 1949 has become suspect because of his close connexion with them. He speaks Arabic, English, French, Turkish, Greek, Italian and Armenian.

#### 76. Mardam, Abdulrahman, Colonel

A Sunni Moslem, born Damascus 1916. Entered Military School, Homs, 1937 and later that year entered St. Cyr, France as officer cadet. 1939, graduated from St. Cyr and appointed second-lieutenant in the Syrian army. 1942, promoted lieutenant. 1944, promoted captain. 1945, served in Syrian gendarmerie and later that year resigned from the French forces. 1946, made provost marshal. 1948, commanded the 1st Armoured Battalion in the Palestinian war. 1949, promoted major and given local rank of lieutenant-colonel on appointment as military attaché, London. 1952, promoted to full colonel.

This officer is intelligent and of average ability, but idle and takes little interest in his work as military attaché.

General Shishakli fully realises that Mardam's indolence prejudices the Syrian army's relations with the War Office, but it suits him to keep this officer away from Syria.

#### 77. Mardam, Haidar

Brother-in-law of Jamil Mardam Bey. Born Damascus, 1898. Sunni Moslem. Graduated from Law School, Damascus, 1923. Married Damascus Christian and went to France to study law for several years. Secretary to municipality 1929-30. In 1936 Kaimakam at Ma'arat. January 1938 (Nationalist Government) "chef du protocole" in the Foreign Office and in March 1938 appointed Acting Mohafiz of Jezirah. In July 1939 Kaimakam of Idlib. In August 1941 appointed Mohafiz of Homs, where he remained until June 1942, when he was dismissed because he was suspected by Syrian Government of carrying information to French. In August 1942 he was appointed to the Foreign Office as "chef du protocole." Mohafiz of Hauran, April 1943 to March 1946, when he was transferred to the central office at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, but refused to take up his post as it was graded lower

in rank than that of Mohafiz. While Mohafiz of the Hauran he was suspected by the Government of being in suspiciously close touch with Amman, but was the first to "clean up" the French in 1945, when he seems to have shown energy, courage and ability to handle a fluid situation, and firmness tempered with justice towards a defeated enemy. Appointed Syrian Minister to Jeddah in March 1947. Recalled in June 1949. Appointed Syrian Minister to Rome in June 1951.

Mildly Nationalist in politics, pleasant and open-minded, but rather lacking in energy.

#### 78. Mardam, Jamil

Born about 1890 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Nationalist member of Constituent Assembly 1928. Deputy in 1932 and Minister of Finance. Was a member of the Nationalist delegation that went to Paris in March 1936 and became Prime Minister and Minister of National Economy December 1936 to July 1937. He formed new Cabinet July 1937, but his Government was attacked, notably by Dr. Shahbandar and Munir Ajlani, over the 1936 Franco-Syrian Treaty. Relations between Mardam and Shahbandar continued to deteriorate until the former was forced to resign. He and his Cabinet were openly accused by the press of great corruption and speculation. When Shahbandar was murdered in July 1940 Jamil Mardam was accused by the Shahbandarists of complicity and, with a few others, fled to Bagdad. Was in Bagdad at the beginning of the Rashid Ali revolt (May 1941), but is believed to have exerted moderating influence on rebels. Returned to Syria May 1941.

In January 1942 he went to Egypt, and, on his return, tried to provoke a political crisis by pretending that he enjoyed the confidence of the British, who had asked him to form a Government. He repeated this manoeuvre with greater insistence in June 1942. As a result, the Allies obliged him to live in the Lebanon and a communiqué was issued condemning his action. Elected Deputy in 1943 and in 1947 on Shukri Quwatli's list. Minister for Foreign Affairs and president of Cereals Commission in Saadullah Jabri's first Government, August 1943 to October 1944. Syrian representative on the Committee of Foreign Ministers of Arab Countries which met in Cairo in February 1945 to draw up Arab League Charter. Minister for Foreign Affairs and for Defence and Government representative to Supreme Mira Council in Fares Khouri's first Government, October 1944 to April 1945. Minister for Foreign Affairs and for Defence in Fares Khouri's second Government, April to August 1945; Acting Prime Minister during the Prime Minister's absence at U.N.O. Conference in San Francisco and was therefore head of the Government at the time of the events of May 1945. Appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Cairo, October 1945, and also to Saudi Arabia, October 1945, and presided at November 1945 session of Arab League, and on several other occasions has represented Syria at Arab League Meetings. Prime Minister and Minister of Interior and Health December 1946 to February 1947. Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs April 1947. Appointed Military Governor Syria 15th May, 1948. Minister of Defence 23rd May, 1948. His Government was forced to resign in December 1948 by popular demonstrations. Has since lived outside Syria.

Foxy, *souple* and a trimmer. A man of great ambition and considerable ability, but not very scrupulous in money matters. Is probably the most likely of the leading members of the old Nationalist bloc to ally himself with a monarchical movement if he thought his interests lay that way.

#### 79. Mardam, Khalil

Sunni Moslem. Born about 1896 in Damascus where he attended the secondary school. He then

went to Cambridge. Minister of Education in 1942. Minister of Education and Health in 1949 (under the Ziam régime). Appointed Minister to Iraq in 1951. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in Government formed in July 1953.

A poet and writer. Director-General of the Syrian Arab Academy in Damascus in 1948 and visited the United Kingdom that year as a British Council visitor. Elected president of the Syrian Arab Academy in 1953. Also a member of the Fuad 1st Academy, Cairo, and of Oriental Studies, London.

Charming and genuinely pro-British but weak.

#### 80. Mardini, Abdul Hamid

A native of Aleppo, about 50 years old. Sunni Moslem. Before becoming Mohafez of Damascus District in 1943 he had held various posts in the Judiciary. Now Mohafez of Damascus City. A regular civil servant.

A hard-working but unimpressive little man whose tact and obedience to his military masters probably ensure his continued stay in office.

Speaks French and some English. Always anxious to help. He is actively pressing the development of Damascus.

#### 81. Mihqi, Raif

Born Hama about 1905 of humble family. Sunni Moslem. Lawyer. Extreme Nationalist and fomenter of riots. Deputy for Hama 1943 but failed in 1947. Became a leading member of the Constitutional Liberal Party and joint editor of *Al Yaqza* with Akram Hourani (q.v.). Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949 as an Independent. Vice-President of the Assembly. Fell out with Akram Hourani (q.v.) before the elections and joined the Coalition list of Husni Barazi. Was a bitter foe of Akram Hourani in Assembly debates. Appointed Minister of Education and Acting Minister of National Economy in the Cabinet formed by Khalid al Azm on 27th March, 1951.

Very intelligent and used to have considerable influence over the masses, who supported his anti-feudal policy. Sincerely believes in his cause. Is prepared to use violence.

Had a reputation in Parliament for demagogic oratory, which was usually of the most violent type directed against someone or something.

#### 82. Mohaffel, Assad

Born 1907. Of a respectable Aleppo family. Sunni Moslem. Studied in France, where he obtained degrees in law and literature. He then taught French at the Aleppo Secondary School. Transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1946, and served as Consul in Cairo during the presidency of Shukri Quwatli; was later in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Counsellor in London for 18 months until the end of 1952, when he was appointed Secretary-General at the Presidency. Formerly a Nationalist, he is now thought to have joined the Arab Liberation Movement. When in Aleppo he led a quiet life, did not join in politics, and wrote poetry. He has a good reputation there.

An intelligent and cultured man, moderate and friendly. Speaks good English and French. Edmond Homs (q.v.) says that he is lazy.

#### 83. Mubarak, Muhammad

Born 1912 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Son of the late Abdul Qadir Mubarak (of Algerian origin), who was a prominent member of the Arab Academy, Damascus. Graduate of Syrian University, faculties of law, arts and sciences. Also holds a licence in literature from the Sorbonne. A teacher in the Government secondary school of Damascus, he later became an inspector of education.

Leading member of the Ikhwan al Muslimeen and elected to Parliament in 1947 as their candidate. Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949 as one of the candidates of the Islamic Socialist Front. Appointed Minister of Public Works in the Cabinet formed by Khalid al Azm in December 1949. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in May 1950. After Ma'rif Dawalibi's (q.v.) Cairo statement in April 1950 Muhammad Mubarak, together with Shaikh Mustafa al Sebai and the rest of the Islamic Socialist Front, began publicly to advocate a rapprochement between the Arab States and the Soviet Union, and called for a treaty of friendship between Syria and the Soviet Union. They later ceased this clamour and even made statements against communism. Allied with People's Party in 1951. Mubarak became Minister of Agriculture in Hassan Hakim's (q.v.) Government, August to November 1951, and in Ma'rif Dawalibi's (q.v.) Government, 28th to 29th November, 1951. Imprisoned in January 1952 by General Shishakli when he and Mustafa Sibai (q.v.) showed signs of preparing to call out the mobs ostensibly in support of Egypt but really to upset or embarrass the régime.

#### 84. Mudarris, Muhammad Khalil

Born 1894. Sunni Moslem. Member of a family of wealthy Aleppo landowners who have a perpetual feud with the Jabris (q.v.). President of the Aleppo Cotton Spinning Company. Moderate in politics. Appointed Minister of Finance in the Ministry of Nassouhi al Bukhari (March-May 1939). Was several times consulted by Sheikh Taj ed Din in 1942 with a view to his becoming a Minister in the Syrian Government, but was reputed to have refused any office unless it was that of Prime Minister. He did not therefore become a member of the Cabinet. His brother, Ahmed, was elected Deputy 1943. Is a friend of Jamil Mardam Bey and Edmond Homsy.

Industrious and well respected.

#### 85. Mudarris, Suleiman

Born about 1910 in Aleppo. Sunni Moslem. Educated at the American University at Beirut and St. John's College, Oxford, joined the I.P.C. in 1932. Between 1933-35 he assisted in negotiations for concessional areas in Arabia. Seconded to Petroleum Concessions, Ltd., in 1936. Appointed manager of Syrian Petroleum Company and Iraq Petroleum Company in Syria in 1941; became General Representative of the Iraq Petroleum Company in Syria in June 1952.

A widower; very Anglophile. Agreeable and efficient though not of outstanding ability. He takes no part in politics though his sympathies are probably with the National Party.

#### 86. Muhairi, Issam

Born about 1920 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Educated at Lycée Franco-Arabe and later at Syrian University. Comes of a well-to-do property-owning family. Unmarried.

Elected to Parliament in 1950, was P.P.S. Member for Damascus. After the dissolution of Parliament and the political parties, was believed to have been close to General Shishakli, who was once himself an active member of the same party. He was thus a rival to Akram Hourani (q.v.). Owner of the paper *El Bana*. General Shishakli still seems to think highly of him, but has not been able to coax him into supporting the régime. He visited the United Kingdom with a Syrian press delegation as a guest of Her Majesty's Government in 1952 and visited Yugoslavia in 1953.

Like most members of his party he exudes doctrine and is slightly xenophobic. Speaks French and some English.

#### 87. Mujhim bin Muhaid, Amir

Born about 1885. Bedouin chief, head of the Fedaan Wuld tribe in the Jezirah and Euphrates region. Given the title of Amir and awarded the Legion of Honour by the French in 1921 on the model of the chiefs of the Rualla. Deputy for Jezirah in 1936, 1943 and 1947. Had well-armed forces and was supported by the French though he was careful not to offend the British. Of considerable importance but unpleasant, cold and astute in character, and likely to turn any emergency to his advantage. His eldest son, Nouri, who was elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949, lacks his father's dignity and astuteness.

#### 88. Nizamuddin, Abdul Baqi

Born 1903 in the Nassibain, Turkey, where his father was Kaimakam. Elementary education. Is recognised as a political leader of Moslems in the Jezireh. Was elected Deputy in 1943 with French support, but since then has professed strong independent Arab views, and was re-elected in 1947. Owns large properties, from which he draws his income. Reported to have sympathised with the revolt of Rashid Ali in Iraq. Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949. Minister of Agriculture in Khalid al Azm's Cabinet of December 1949. Formed the Republican Liberal *blocc* in the Assembly in March 1950. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in May 1950. Appointed Minister of Agriculture and Acting Minister of Justice in the Cabinet formed by Khalid al Azm on 27th March, 1951. Reputed to have appropriated large tracts of land when in office. He is now farming on a large scale in the Jezireh.

#### 89. Nourallah, Kemal

Born about 1918. Of a middle-class family from Jebel. Sunni Moslem. Graduated at Damascus School of Law. Formerly Inspector for the Lattakia district in the Ministry of the Interior. He was Director of the Syrian Press for a time in 1949. In 1950 he became Secretary to the Mohafez of Aleppo. In 1952 he was appointed Mohafez of the Jebel Druze, and Mohafez of Aleppo in April 1953. Known to be an ardent supporter of the military régime.

Active, intelligent, and said to be honest. Not very popular with the older members of the Aleppo administration, who consider him too young for the post. Speaks French.

#### 90. Pasha, Anwar Ibrahim, Dr.

Born about 1910. An Aleppine of good family. Sunni Moslem.

After being a farmer, he studied law in France and was then appointed to the Faculty of Law at the University. A People's Party Deputy for Aleppo in 1949. Resigned from the Party in 1951. Appointed Minister of Education in July 1953.

Has private means and a good reputation.

#### 91. Qabbani, Nazmi, Dr.

Born about 1891. Attended the Secondary School in Damascus and then studied medicine and surgery in Paris. Graduated in 1921. Professor of surgery at the Damascus Faculty of Medicine. His son is General Shishakli's aide-de-camp. Appointed Minister of Health in Government formed in July 1953.

A Moslem of the old school, respected and respectable. Has private means but lives quietly. Regarded in medical circles as an efficient surgeon. Refused Government office under Zaim and has also refused

the Rectorship of the University. Active, frank and determined. Speaks no English but fairly good French.

#### 92. Qunbar, Ahmed

Born about 1910. Sunni Moslem. An Aleppo lawyer. Leading member of the Aleppo branch of the People's Party. Owner of *Al Nathir* the organ of the People's Party in Aleppo. First elected to Parliament in 1947. Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949. Appointed Minister of Public Works in Nazim Qudsi's Cabinet in September 1950. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet on 9th March, 1951. Minister of the Interior in Ma'rif Dawalibi's (q.v.) Government on 28th and 29th November, 1951. Imprisoned by General Shishakli after the latter's *coup d'Etat* and released in April 1952.

An able and eloquent politician who, with Nazim Qudsi (q.v.) built up the People's Party. Reputedly honest although accused of nepotism and corruption by his political enemies.

#### 93. Qudsi, Nazim

Born 1906 in Aleppo. Sunni Moslem. Lawyer. Acting during troubles of February 1936. Resigned from Nationalist *blocc* March 1939 and has since been in opposition to the *blocc*. Considered suitable in 1941 as British propagandist, but refused pay. Suggested for position in Syrian Cabinet in March 1942, but his candidature was ruled out by the Allies on account of his past xenophobe record. Elected Deputy in July 1943 and in 1947, and worked with Rushdi Kekhia (q.v.) as reasonable critic of Government; refused Cabinet rank. Minister Plenipotentiary to United States January 1945 to August 1946. Member of Syrian Delegation to U.N.O. Conference at San Francisco April 1945. Member of Syrian Delegation to U.N.O. Conference at London November 1945. Prominent member of Popular Party. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in Hashim Alassi's Government of August 1949. Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949. Formed a Cabinet in December 1949, after General Adib Shishakli's military *coup*, but resigned after less than twenty-four hours as he would not submit to army pressure. Subsequently elected by the Assembly as chairman of the committee which was formed to draft the new Constitution. At the beginning of June 1950 formed a Cabinet in succession to that of Khalid al Azm, with army support. As a result of differences with the military clique led by General Adib Shishakli, which he attributed mainly to French intrigues, Nazim Qudsi resigned on 9th March, 1951. After the fall of Zaim in 1949 Qudsi strongly advocated union with Iraq but he later became more cautious and in December 1950 submitted to the Arab League a much broader plan for the unity of Arab States. Imprisoned by General Shishakli after the *coup d'Etat* of 29th November. Released February 1952.

A serious-minded, upright and sincere little man who, however, nurses deep-rooted suspicions of French and American designs on the Middle East as a whole and Syria in particular. By contrast he is well disposed towards Britain, whom he trusts considerably more than the other Big Powers.

#### 94. Quwatli, Shukri

Born about 1886 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Supporter of Faisal. During the rebellion of 1925 afforded every assistance to the rebels. He fled to Palestine, but returned to Syria in 1931. Vice-president of the Nationalist *blocc* at its inception. Made Finance Minister and Defence Minister (combined) in Jamil Mardam's Cabinet on 21st December, 1936. As head of his own party (Istiklal), but allied with the Nationalists, was bitterly opposed to Council of Directors, but until French armistice (June 1940)

did not take overt political action. He was in close contact with the Italian Disarmament Commission during the whole of their stay here and was a constant caller on the Italian Consulate in Damascus. Met Roser, the German Agent, several times during the latter's stay in Syria. On arrival of Allies was openly opposed to them and judged it best to go on "pilgrimage" to Mecca (October 1941). Went to Baghdad, where he was entrusted by Ibn Saud with various negotiations between Saudi Arabia and Iraq. Returned to Damascus (September 1942). Entered elections of 1943 as Nationalist leader. Elected Deputy and President of the Republic by overwhelming majority. Fell seriously ill (April 1944); his life was saved by British military doctors with transfusions of British blood. Visited Baghdad in March 1945, where he was not warmly received. Attended meeting of Arab rulers at Inshass in May 1946. Re-elected President for a second term in April 1948. After that his popularity declined rapidly and he was incapable of appreciating the progressive economic policy initiated by Khaled al Azm later that year. He was arrested by Husni Zaim on 30th March, 1949, and resigned on 6th April. He has since then lived in Switzerland and Egypt where he now is.

A determined exponent of pan-Arabism. Is somewhat slow and ponderous. Has not got a quick or brilliant brain but has a good deal of wisdom. Mentally and physically he might not unfairly be likened to an elephant. Made quite a good representative head of State. Was regarded in the early days of the war as pro-Axis and undoubtedly had contacts with Axis representatives in the Levant, but this can probably be attributed to entire singleness of purpose in the Arab cause. It was at one time rumoured, but there is no proof, that he had used his official position to advance his own financial interests. In 1945 and 1946 he co-operated well with the British authorities and he almost certainly has a sense of profound gratitude towards the British both politically and personally. This is not to say that he might not take a line opposed to British policy if he thought Arab interests lay that way. Is not, unnaturally, profoundly opposed to any suggestion for a monarchical régime in Syria.

#### 95. Rayyis, Hani

Born about 1900. Sunni Moslem. A wealthy Aleppine property owner. A lawyer by profession and at one time held the post of President of the Court of Appeal in Lattakia.

A long-standing member of the Nationalist Party under whose rule he was first appointed Mohafez of Aleppo. Dismissed by the People's Party after their success in the elections of 1949. Although his political sympathies are probably Nationalist he resigned from the party immediately prior to (and doubtless to facilitate) his reappointment by the Shishakli régime. Resigned in April 1953.

A pleasant and sociable man of no particular ability. Speaks no foreign language.

#### 96. Rayyis, Munir

Born Hama in 1899. Sunni. Strong Nationalist. Joined Palestine rebels in 1936 and became second in command to Fauzi Qawekji. Appointed head of the Secret Police (*i.e.*, political) by the Nationalist Government in 1938 and in that capacity aided Palestine rebels. Dismissed a few months later on charges of brutality. Condemned to twenty years' prison and twenty years' banishment for plotting against life of Bahii al Khatib (head of Council of Directors) in 1939, but released in 1940 at intervention of Italian Armistice Commission. Flew in June 1941 on Allied approach and broadcast for Germans from Athens; returned to Syria at the end of 1945; is sole proprietor of the newspaper *Liwa*.

A dangerous agitator and intriguer, associated with the Arab Club, League of National Action, Spearheaded the attacks in the Damascus press on Syro-Iraqi union after the fall of Zaim, whom he had fulsomely supported. Given his character, it is certain that the Saudi and Egyptian opponents of union made it worth his while. A thoroughly contemptible, venal and unscrupulous scoundrel. Anglophobe.

#### 97. Rifa'i Zafar, Dr.

Born about 1907. Sunni Moslem. An Aleppine, of good family, but with no land of his own. Married into the influential Aleppo family of Jebri in 1941. Doctor of law (Nantes, France—1934), 1938-41; held posts as district officer in Kamichle, Jisr Shaghour and Nebk. Participated in Rashid Ali Kilani's abortive attempt to seize power in Iraq in 1941. Escaped to Turkey, thence to Germany. Assisted in the foundation of the Arab National Party. Supported the National *blocc* in 1934. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs on 9th June, 1952. Resigned on formation of new Government in July 1953.

Speaks good French and German. Unimpressive but not unintelligent, and showed himself genuinely anxious to help the diplomats.

#### 98. Rikaby, Akram

Born 1900 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Son of the late General Rida Pasha Rikaby, C.B.E. (Governor of Damascus after the British occupation in 1918).

Educated in Iraq and at Cambridge University where he took a degree in agriculture. Member of the Palestine Administration for some years. In charge of the Arab Kadoori School of Agriculture where he had the reputation of being efficient and hard-working though difficult to deal with as he tried to take too much under his wing. Appointed Director-General of National Economy in 1945 but resigned in 1946. Manager of Rafidain Bank 1949-50. Appointed Director-General of Customs in October 1950. Dismissed in June 1951 and appointed Director-General of the Hejaz Railway. Appointed Secretary-General of Agriculture (while retaining charge of the Hejaz Railway) in 1952. Well disposed to the United Kingdom and at the same time a strong nationalist.

#### 99. Sadat, Munir, Dr.

Born 1903 in Damascus. Moslem. Educated at the Syrian University where he took a degree in medicine. Later specialised in surgery in France. Founder and owner of a well-known private hospital in Damascus in which his wife, a Finn, handles much of the administration. Politically he has frequently changed horses in an effort to gain Parliament. Originally a member of the old Liberal Party he clung to the People's Party when the two were fused. Before elections, however, he deserted them and joined an Independent list with Saadi Kailani (*q.v.*). Appointed Director-General of Health in October 1950 and in that capacity visited England under British Council auspices in 1951. Resigned his post in December 1951 rather than take an oath not to participate in politics. Much of the trouble in 1952 over the activities of foreign cultural and information centres in Syria could be traced to the publicity which surrounded the action of Dr. Sadat's son who, during a visit to the United States, was photographed shaking hands in public with an Israeli student.

Does not appear to be a man of outstanding character or principle but nevertheless he does have the knack of getting things done.

#### 100. Safa, Mohammad, Colonel

Born 1912 in Soueida. A Moslem. In July 1948 he commanded the Army Liberation Brigade. In September 1948 he commanded an infantry battalion

and in January 1949 a Brigade. He was dismissed from the army for his activities against the Zaim régime, and was imprisoned in August 1949. He was afterwards reinstated in the army and appointed military attaché in Paris. In 1951 he became military attaché in Washington. At the end of 1952 he was placed on pension having ostensibly reached the retiring age; in fact he was dismissed for his activities against the Shishakli régime. He is now reported to be in Iraq or the Lebanon organising a Free Syria Movement.

A report on this officer written in October 1950 stated that he was intelligent and able, dangerous fanatical, feared within the army and the potential centre of a *coup d'Etat*.

#### 101. Sahnouli, Jean

Born about 1905 in Damascus. Greek Catholic of humble extraction, one of seven brothers, all of whom are now wealthy. Appointed honorary Spanish Vice-Consul in 1936. Because prominent in Greek Catholic circles was considered pro-Italian, but in year following French collapse showed considerable signs of being pro-British. In April to September 1941 was Minister of Finance in Khalid al Azm's Government. During winter of 1941-42 was engaged in large contracts for British army over which he was not too well treated—but has nevertheless made a great deal of money. Represented Syrian Chamber of Commerce at the Commercial Conference held in Chicago in 1945. Left Damascus in May for a lengthy private commercial tour of the United Kingdom, Europe and the United States. His visit to the United Kingdom was strongly backed by the Department of Overseas Trade. Managing director of Syrian Airlines and of big sugar and glass companies and interested in the formation of a National Bank. Although not a politician accepted post as Minister of National Economy in Khalid al Azm's Cabinet of December 1948 (which fell on 30th March, 1949) and showed himself a progressive and thoughtful Minister anxious to promote commercial relations between Syria and the outside world.

Is an extremely unsatisfactory business man to deal with, putting off any decision to the last possible moment; amiable personality, close personal friend of Khalid al Azm and open to social flattery.

#### 102. Sawwaf, Husni

Born 1900 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Studied at the American University of Beirut and afterwards taught there until 1947 as Professor of Economics. Counsellor at the Syrian Legation in Washington 1947-49 during which time he took his Ph.D. at George Washington University. Appointed Secretary-General of the Ministry of National Economy in April 1949.

Acting Minister of National Economy after General Shishakli's *coup d'Etat* of 29th November, 1951, reverting to Secretary-General on formation of Government on 9th June, 1952.

One of the very few Syrian administrative officials who can be counted on to give a balanced view on some of the many economic problems affecting Syria. He has a quiet, agreeable manner.

#### 103. Sayigh, Maximos IV

Born in 1878 in Aleppo. Archbishop of Tyre in 1919 and of Beirut in 1922. Elected Patriarch of the Greek Catholic Church in the East in succession to Moghabghab in October 1947 by the Synod of the Greek Catholic Church meeting at 'Ain Triz in the Lebanon. He is well liked by the Greek Catholic community and has decided to live in Damascus though he may spend a part of his time in Cairo and Alexandria, where he has palaces. Has on several occasions delivered anti-Communist sermons and likes political intrigue.

#### 104. Sha'alan, Fawwaz Amir

Born about 1907. Sunni Moslem. Grandson of Nuri, whom he succeeded on latter's death in 1942. Even before he became chief, had a strong following in the Ruwala. Treacherously slew his rival and cousin, Farhan bin Mashur, near Palmyra in April 1935. Has married both his sisters into Ibn Saud's family, one to Ibn Saud himself and the other to the Amir Saud. These matches are looked upon by the Bedouin as having a political significance in connexion with the Wadi Sichan grazing lands and the Jauf Oasis. Was Deputy 1936-39 under the Nationalist banner.

During the British blockade of Vichy Syria (1941) conducted a remunerative contraband trade between Transjordan and Syria. During Syrian campaign he and the Ruwala remained strictly neutral, although the Vichy French gave them a number of arms, which they largely surrendered on the Allied arrival in Damascus. In 1942 he was given profitable contracts by the British army. Elected Deputy for Bedouins of Damascus area 1943, and again in 1947; visited America at the time of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, April 1945, and spent a month in England on his way back.

Played an important part in Ibn Saud's covert campaign against Syro-Iraqi union after Colonel Sami Hinnawi's *coup d'Etat* of August 1949. Vanished from Syria shortly before the unsuccessful attempt by a group of terrorists called the Arab Redemption Society, whom he was probably financing on behalf of King Ibn Saud, against the life of General Shishakli (*q.v.*) in October 1950. Sometimes in Damascus, but spends much of his time in Beirut or abroad.

Like all Bedouin, a shameless money-seeker. Despite the fact that much of his earlier life was spent in Syrian and European cabarets, he is now a more dignified character, respected by the other tribal leaders and has become a leading force in the desert. His close connexions with Ibn Saud result in him being the only big tribal leader who is definitely opposed to Greater Syria.

#### 105. Shabin, George

Born 1906 in Damascus. Greek Orthodox. Educated in Damascus and took a post-graduate course in Law in Paris. Practised as a lawyer and became the attorney for the Syrian Treasury. A former member of the People's Party, he was a Minister in the one-day Government of Ma'ruf Dawalibi (*q.v.*) (28th to 29th November, 1951). Appointed Minister of Finance in Government formed in July 1953.

Speaks English and French and has a French wife. Has a good reputation but is not a live wire.

#### 106. Sharif, Ihsan

Born about 1892 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Lawyer. French degree (*à titre d'étranger*). Secretary of the People's Party 1924. Member of the Constituent Assembly 1928, when he held most uncompromising Nationalist views. Insisted on standing for elections in 1932, thus nearly spoiling the agreement with the High Commissioner's delegate. Nationalist Deputy, 1932 and 1936. Appointed Syrian member on Joint Higher Commission for Common Interests with Lebanese, January to September 1944. Mohafez of Aleppo, September 1944 to May 1946, during which period he was successful in preventing any major clash between Syrians and French. Earned the gratitude of the Christian minorities for protecting their interests, for which he was decorated by the Pope. Appointed first Syrian Minister to the Turkish Republic, July 1946. Syrian representative on Security Council Committee of Enquiry to Greece.

January 1947. Appointed Syrian Minister to Greece in September 1947. A minor Nationalist leader, who has, however, not been active for some time. Recalled to Damascus in August 1949. Secretary-general of the Republican Democratic (pro-Quwatly) Party formed in February 1950, and now dissolved. Opposed to the draft Constitution and method of election as President of General Shishakli (July 1953).

A man of sincere convictions with a violent temper.

#### 107. Shatra, Mahmoud, Lieutenant-Colonel

A Circassian Moslem, born near Aleppo in 1913. Became head of the Deuxième Bureau in 1950 and Commander of the Bedouin Control Force in 1951. He has had twenty years' service.

He is intelligent, crafty, reputedly anti-British and was believed to be close to General Shishakli until arrested at the end of 1952 on a charge of implication in a plot against the régime.

#### 108. Shatti, Shawkat

Born about 1910 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Secretary-General, Ministry of Health.

Doctor of medicine, and professor at School of Medicine at the Syrian University. From 1949 to 1951 he and his wife studied English at the British Council Centre in Damascus. He seems well disposed towards the United Kingdom.

#### 109. Shehabi, Mustafa Amir

Born in Damascus 1893. Sunni Moslem. Of Lebanese origin (Husbyaya). Cousin of Amir Bahjat (q.v.). Studied at one of the French schools in Damascus, at Istanbul and at the Agricultural School of Chalons, France. Lieutenant under Faisal and Inspector of Agriculture. Took flight when Faisal was forced to withdraw from Syria. Returned to Syria in 1923, when he was appointed Director of State Domains. In 1934 his position as Director of State Domains was suppressed and Shehabi was attached to the Ministry of Agriculture by Sheikh Taj ed Din. In 1935 he was one of the directors of the Damascus Exhibition, and in 1936 (February to December) was Minister of Education under Ata Bey Ayoubi. He accompanied the Syrian delegation to Paris in the negotiation of the Franco-Syrian Treaty (1936). Mohafez of Aleppo (February 1937 to March 1939) under the Cabinet of Jamil Mardam, after which he went into retirement, devoting his time to compiling an Arabic-French botanical dictionary. Appointed Minister of Finance in the Jemil Ulshi Government on 8th January, 1943. Resigned on personal grounds on 17th March, 1943. Was appointed Minister of Finance, National Economy and Ravitaillement in Ata Ayoubi's Provisional Government, March to August 1943. Mohafez of Latakia 1943 to 1945. Secretary-General of Prime Minister's Office, December 1945 to June 1946. Appointed Mohafez of Aleppo, June 1946 to January 1948, when he was transferred to Latakia as Mohafez. Minister of Justice in Muhsin Barazi's Cabinet of June 1949.

Appointed Syrian Minister to Cairo in June 1951, and raised to rank of Ambassador there in 1952. Is also accredited to Jeddah.

Enjoys reputation as a man of probity and drive. An agreeable personality, modest in demeanour but can be very obstinate.

#### 110. Shishakli, Adib, Brigadier-General

Born 1901 in Hama. Moslem. Took part in the Hama revolt against the French in 1925 and in 1945 deserted the French forces and joined the Syrian army. Battalion Commander in 1948 and in September of that year appointed second-in-command of a brigade. Took part in Husni Zaim's *coup d'Etat* of 30th March, 1949. Appointed Director-General of Police and

Security soon after, and promoted to rank of lieutenant-colonel a few days later. Leader of the Parti Populaire Syrien in the army. Shishakli fell foul of Husni Zaim when the latter made him hand over Antoun Saade, head of the P.P.S., to the Lebanese authorities in July 1949, after asylum had been granted to Saade in Syria. As a result of their quarrel he was first relegated to the appointment of Commandant de la Place, Aleppo, then offered the post of Military Attaché, Jeddah, which he refused, and finally dismissed by Zaim at the end of July. Reinstated by the late Colonel Hinnawi after the latter's successful *coup* against Husni Zaim and appointed commander of the 1st Brigade. On 19th December, 1949, Shishakli took matters into his own hands and in collaboration with Akram Hourani (q.v.) organised a successful *coup* (he called it "disciplinary action") against Hinnawi. Shishakli, an avowed Republican, accused Hinnawi of plotting to bring about union with Iraq. Became Deputy Chief of the General Staff on the day of his *coup*. Since then he managed to maintain a firm control on the political situation in Syria. Became Chief of Staff in April 1951. Following a duel for power between the army and the politicians led by the People's Party, Shishakli staged a *coup d'Etat* on 29th November, 1951, imprisoning the newly-formed Government of Ma'arif Dawalibi (q.v.) and leading People's Party politicians and installing Brigadier-General Fawzi Silo (q.v.) as Head of State and Prime Minister; the Secretaries-General of Ministries became acting Ministers. Shishakli remained Chief of Staff. During the early part of 1952 he paid official visits to the Lebanon, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. He had great difficulty in getting political support for the military régime but managed to form a Government of "new men" on 9th June, 1952; later became Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior. He promoted himself to brigadier-general on the 1st of April, 1953, and, as a result of a referendum, was elected President on July 10. There was no other candidate.

He is married and has eight children. At first glance a quiet, shy little man, he is inclined to get tough after a drink or two and, as a result, thoroughly enjoys an evening's carousing in the cabarets. Although outwardly pleasant and amicable he is shrewd, very cunning and ruthless. He is out to strengthen his own position and sees in any project for closer association between Syria and her Hashimite neighbours a threat to his own position.

#### 111. Shlash, Emir, Colonel

Born 1910 in Deir-az-Zor. A Moslem. In 1949 he commanded an Infantry Battalion. In 1950 he was Commandant of the Homs Military Academy. In 1951 he commanded a Brigade. He was made Assistant Chief of Staff in November 1951.

He is a pleasant well-mannered officer with no force of character. Popular with his brother officers and loyal to the régime. He is trusted by General Shishakli, who has made him Deputy Chief of Staff. Speaks fluent French.

#### 112. Showra, Munir

Born 1910, Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Son of a Damascus chemist. Married, with three children. Has the degree of Doctor of Medicine of Damascus University. Also studied surgery in Paris. A professor in the Damascus School of Medicine since 1942. A prominent supporter of the military régime and head of the Damascus branch of the Arab Liberation Movement.

#### 113. Shukair, Fuad Shawkat, Brigadier-General

A Druze, born in Lebanon in 1910. In 1950 he became Head of the Fourth Bureau and Administrative Assistant to the Chief of Staff. In 1952 made lieutenant-colonel and Officer Commanding,

4th Liwa. Appointed Chief of Staff by General Shishakli in July 1953.

He is said to be honest and is known to be an astute businessman with considerable experience of negotiating for arms purchases, in which connexion he paid visits during 1951 to France, Germany and Switzerland and obtained substantial quantities of arms, mostly from France. He is a close confidant of General Shishakli. He is strongly pro-French and speaks fluent French but no English.

#### 114. Shuqairi, Ahmed

Born in 1906 in Acre. Moslem. He is married, with two children. His father was the Grand Mufti of Palestine before Haj Amin Husseini, with whom he is not on good terms. He is a graduate both of the American University in Beirut and of London University. He is a lawyer and practised for some time before becoming interested in politics. He speaks English, Turkish and French. Now Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League and has the reputation of being a voluble and ranting orator. Uncompromising on any Arab Nationalist theme, especially the Palestine question. A member of the Syrian delegation to the 1952 session of the United Nations.

#### 115. Sibai, Mustafa Shaikh

Born in Homs about 1915. Moslem. Studied at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, where he was when Rashid Ali's rebellion took place. He was accused of having distributed a circular in Cairo calling on the Egyptian people to support the movement, was arrested by the Egyptian police and detained for some two months without trial; deported from Egypt and interned by the British authorities in Palestine at Sarafand for seven months. Repatriated to Syria, where he was again interned for two years, first at Mich-Mich and then at Rashia; released early 1945, when he began to take a strong interest in the Moslem Brethren. Since 1946 he has been director of the Arab Institute in Damascus (a school run by the Moslem Brethren). He is controller-general of the Moslem Brethren in both Syria and the Lebanon, and was one of the principal editors of *El Manar* newspaper, the mouthpiece of the Moslem Brethren until its suppression in April 1949. *El Manar* reappeared in November 1949.

Elected to the Constituent Assembly in November 1949 as chief representative of the newly-formed Islamic Socialist Front (= Moslem Brethren) of which he is the main spokesman. In 1950 together with Muhammad Mubarak (q.v.) publicly advocated a rapprochement with the Soviet Union. A vehement ranting orator who appeals to the masses. Imprisoned by General Shishakli early in 1952 when he and Muhammad Mubarak (q.v.) showed signs of preparing to call out the mobs ostensibly in support of Egypt but really to upset or embarrass the régime.

#### 116. Sidawi, Wadi'

Born Damascus 1907. Greek Orthodox. Took law degree, Damascus 1925. Worked as assistant for seventeen years to Yusuf el Isa on the paper *Alif Ba*, and in 1942 bought *Al Kifah* from Amin Said, but abandoned it in early 1943 to its original proprietor; editor of *El Nasr*. Speaks English and French. Was pro-Allied during the second world war but has since developed a greed for money which results in his newspaper vilifying anyone or any Government for a sufficient payment. In the first half of 1948 *El Nasr* was particularly anti-British over Palestine, and closely followed the changes in Communist treatment of news. The advent of Husni Zaim brought an era of unprecedented prosperity for Sidawi. *El Nasr* became one of the unofficial mouthpieces of the dictator and it is more than likely that

Sidawi's present financial independence is the outcome of his wholehearted support of Zaim. He has undoubtedly some ability as a journalist and his paper has the highest sales in Damascus. His opportunism has become even more apparent latterly. His paper has often taken a fellow-traveller line. It has been alleged that he receives money from the Soviet Legation and the Banque de Syrie. Employs one or two well-known fellow-travellers as sub-editors.

#### 117. Selo, Fawzi, Major-General

Born about 1895. Moslem from Hama. Commandant Homs Military School in February 1947. In July 1948 made Joint Operational Commander of the 1st and 2nd Brigades on the Palestine front. Head of Syrian delegation during the Syro-Israeli Armistice negotiations in 1949. Appointed Director-General of Ministry of National Defence in April 1950. Minister of National Defence in the Cabinets formed by Nazim Qudsi on 4th June, 1950, by Khalid al Azm on 27th March, 1951, and by Hassan Hakim (q.v.) on 9th August, 1951. The real power lay in the hands of Brigadier-General Adib Shishakli (q.v.). Following the latter's *coup d'Etat* of 29th November General Selo was appointed Head of State and Prime Minister, and on the formation of a new Government on 9th June, 1952, he retained these posts. Promoted to major-general on 1st April, 1953. Resigned on July 11, following election of General Shishakli as President, and went to Mecca for the Hajj.

He did not give the impression of being either intelligent or trustworthy and he is probably xenophobic at heart. Although little more than a puppet he took his high position very seriously.

#### 118. Stati, Georgis

Born about 1884. Of Homs. Syrian Catholic Bishop of Damascus (1933). Not a fanatical Christian, i.e., he can bear sight of Christians not members of his church. Is an ardent defender of the "minorities" cause. Generally esteemed. Pro-British during the Vichy régime.

#### 119. Sultan, Abdul Raouf

Born 1901 in Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Graduate of Syrian University, and began law practice in 1925, 1926; appointed magistrate in Aleppo; later sat in Magistrates' Court in Damascus, until promoted to higher courts. Resigned from Supreme Court when subjected to pressure by the military régime early in 1952. Appointed Secretary-General of Ministry of Justice in 1952 and was deemed straightforward, efficient and reputedly incorruptible. Dismissed in August 1953.

#### 120. Surur, Hayyil Shaikh

Born in 1913. Educated by private teachers in Beduin encampment. In 1947 he inherited from his father, Auda Surur, the leadership of the Musaid tribe which is the largest Beduin group in the Jebel Druze district. He was exiled by the French in 1936 but returned in time to be elected as a Deputy in the Syrian Parliament of 1937. The French would not allow him, however, to take his seat on the grounds that he was too young. In 1939 he migrated with his tribe to Transjordan to avoid further trouble with the Mandatory Power. Failed in the Syrian elections of 1943 but succeeded in 1947. In 1948 he led his tribesmen into Palestine and succeeded in holding Lydda and Ramleh for several weeks until regular forces from Transjordan took over. Although serving under the Jordanian Command he was the only Beduin leader to take an active part in the fighting in Palestine. The Syrian Government whose regular troops had not succeeded so well as Hayyil's Beduin, arrested him on his return to Damascus. He then joined the Popular

Party in opposition to Shukri Quwatly and the Nationalists. He attempted to lead all Beduin Deputies into the opposition but failed.

He was arrested by Zaim in April 1949 and remained in prison for several weeks.

Elected to Constituent Assembly in November 1949. Held in custody for over a month in 1953 ostensibly on a charge of being mixed up in smuggling, but in fact on suspicion of political activity against the régime.

He is shrewd, witty and possesses much common sense. He is openly pro-British. His personal conduct is strictly regulated by Beduin ethics.

#### 121. Suweiti, Mahfuz

Born about 1907 in Damascus. Educated at the Greek Orthodox Community School in Damascus. Entered the Church at an early age, and on completion of his higher education was sent to Alexandria as a deacon where he remained for ten years, with the exception of four years spent in theological and language studies at Athens.

From Egypt he moved to the United States, and during his stay of three years visited many States. The United States being a part of the See of Antioch, the three years he spent there made him eligible for election to the Bishopric. He was elected during his absence there and was elevated immediately upon his return. Is now Deputy Patriarch.

Speaks English and French well.

A friendly, tolerant man. Popular with the younger members of the community on account of his broadmindedness and progressive outlook on social affairs.

#### 122. Tab'a, Azzat, Lieutenant-Colonel

Damascene by birth. About 40 years of age. A doctor of medicine. Formerly head of the Military Hospital at Mezzé and now Military Controller of the Office of Press and Propaganda and Director of Army Health Services.

An intelligent and capable member of the small group of Shishakli's trusted lieutenants. Diplomatic but determined. Has been assigned the formidable task of reorganising a venal and unscrupulous press in keeping with the other social reforms the régime has undertaken. Visited Britain in 1947. Not ill-disposed to Britain but of necessity supports the régime in its outlook towards all affairs involving Britain and the Middle East. Speaks French well and a little English. Not given to hard work and is invariably suffering from the effects of the night before.

Possesses literary talent and is regarded locally as something of a poet.

#### 123. Tahsin, Said

Born 1904. Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Privately educated. At one time employed as a teacher in Baghdad in elementary schools.

President of "Arab Society of Fine Art."

Father-in-law of Walid Majed, former "chef de Protocole" at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, now First Secretary in Madrid. Known to be an ardent fellow-traveller and prominent member of local "Peace" Committee. Attended the Warsaw Conference and has recently been active in producing anti-Western cartoons for Communist-sponsored local newspapers and magazines.

#### 124. Tallas, Assad

Born in Aleppo about 1905. Sunni Moslem. Educated at Fuad I University, Cairo, and later studied in France. Took up teaching and then obtained a post in the Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and became head of the Administrative Section. Was at one time Director of Consular Affairs and served in diplomatic posts abroad including Tehran and Athens, where he was

chargé d'affaires. While at Athens he was appointed Syrian member of the United Nations Commission in Greece. On his return to Syria he was given a post in the Legal Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Tallas accompanied Adel Arslan (q.v.) to Bagdad on an official mission during Zaim's régime and while there secretly discussed with the Iraqis the possibility of overthrowing Zaim and bringing about closer relations between Syria and Iraq. On his return to Damascus he began to work upon the late Colonel Hinnawi, to whom he was related by marriage and on whom he exerted a powerful influence. Zaim offended Tallas by transferring him to a minor post in the Ministry of Education in July and this set Tallas firmly and finally against him. Following Hinnawi's successful *coup d'Etat* against Zaim, Tallas became Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and exploited his position to promote Syro-Iraqi union, using the rather stupid Hinnawi as a tool for this purpose. His career was abruptly interrupted on 19th December by the anti-Hinnawi *coup* carried out by General Adib Shishakli and Tallas, after taking refuge in the Iraqi Legation, fled to Bagdad via Beirut. He continues to remain a refugee in Bagdad.

#### 125. Tarazi, Falak (Miss)

Born about 1915. Comes of an old and respected family of Turkish origin. Her father was a Government official during Ottoman days and a land owner on a modest scale. She is well educated and has absorbed French culture to a great degree not only in her education but also in the course of her frequent sojourns in Paris. She gives the appearance of being of independent means and spends most of her time in lecturing and writing. Was formerly a regular weekly broadcaster over Radio Damascus where she spoke on sociology and allied subjects. She is something of an idealist and is usually considered as one of the leaders of a small group of Damascus *intelligentsia*. She has devoted considerable efforts to the organisation of the "Partisans of Peace" in Syria and visited Warsaw as a delegate to the Peace Conference in 1950. She has been largely responsible for the building up of the movement in Syria until her disagreement in June 1951 with the Committee, as a result of which her connexions with it have been allegedly cut. She denies membership of the Communist Party but she was always known for her Leftist tendencies prior to her notoriety as a "Peace Partisan," and is certainly a fellow-traveller.

#### 126. Tayyara, Sami

Born in Homs, Sunni Moslem. Age about 47. Comes of a humble family. Took a degree in medicine in France. Member of Akram Hourani's Arab Socialist Party and of the Liberal Republican *bloc* in Parliament. Appointed Minister of Health and Acting Minister of Public Works in the Cabinet formed by Khalid al Azm on 27th March, 1951. Appointed Minister of Education in Government formed on 9th June, 1952. Resigned on formation of new Government in July 1953. Seems well disposed towards United Kingdom, which he visited as a British Council visitor at the end of 1952.

#### 127. Tillawi, Saïd

Born in Homs, 1912. Sunni Moslem. A distant relative by marriage of ex-President Quwatly by whom he was appointed as a secretary at the Presidency in 1943. Removed from this post in 1945 by Muhsin Barazi, then Secretary-General of the Presidency, for exploiting his position. Took to journalism as a partner in a newspaper subsidised by Quwatly and later took over another pro-Quwatly paper *El Falha*. Imprisoned by Husni Zaim after

the first *coup d'Etat* but co-operated with the régime after his release. When the People's Party came to power Tillawi was in trouble again and was imprisoned for offences against the Press Law. His paper is now regarded as the unofficial mouthpiece of General Shishakli's régime and as such receives financial and moral support. Tillawi attacks Britain regularly and unscrupulously; when short of material he turns his attentions to the United States and France. He also attacks Iraq and the friendship of the Hashemites with Britain. He employs a fellow-traveller as editor. His paper is a disgrace even by Arab standards.

Tillawi is loud and uncouth, drinks to excess and his morals cause raised eyebrows even amongst his colleagues.

#### 128. Trabuki, Izzat

Born 1913. Damascus. Sunni Moslem. Graduate of Lycée Franco-Arabe, and of School of Law of Syrian University. Obtained a doctorate of law and a certificate in political science at Paris. Practised law, 1934 to 1938. In 1938 appointed to Ministry of Finance, 1946-1947: lecturer on finance at School of Law, Damascus. 1948: Government representative at Exchange Control Office. Now Secretary-General, Ministry of Finance.

Author of two books, one on agricultural development in Syria (in French), the other on finance.

No political affiliations. An able and influential civil servant.

#### 129. Ustuwani, Ibrahim, Dr.

Moslem. Born 1906 in Damascus of a good family with a legal tradition. Married. Studied economics and law at the Syrian University, the Sorbonne, and the University of Vienna. Spent some years in Austria, and on his return here was employed at the Austrian Consulate in Damascus. Appointed Honorary Austrian Consul here in 1939. Left Syria during the war years returning in 1945, when he was appointed Director-General of Political Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1949 he became Secretary-General of the Ministry. During this period he was friendly and helpful to the legation, who found him hard-working, honest and efficient. At the end of 1949 he left and went into business for a short time, but was appointed Syrian Consul-General in the Federal German Republic in 1950. He is reputed to find the Austrians much more to his taste than the Germans.

He is not known to have taken part in any political activities. He speaks French, English and fluent German.

#### 130. Zaim, Muhammad Saïd

Aged about 50. Born in Hama. Sunni Moslem. Resides in Aleppo. Proprietor of a textile factory and prominent industrialist.

Originally a member of the Nationalist Party but until now his political activities have been behind the scenes.

After acting as secretary to the Aleppo Chamber of Commerce, he has for the past few years been vice-president. He has taken a leading part in commercial life in Aleppo and was last year president of the Aleppo Rotary Club. At a meeting of the Congress of Arab Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture in the Lebanon last December he countered anti-British statements by delegates by pointing out that both Syria and the Lebanon owed their independence largely to the British.

Reputed to have made a fortune out of army contracts during the last war.

Appointed Minister of Finance on 9th June, 1952. Resigned on formation of new Government in July 1953.

He is quiet and hard working, a prolific writer and speaker on commercial matters and is essentially sound.

#### 131. Zainuddin, Farid

Born about 1905. A Druse of Lebanese origin. Studied at American University, Beirut, specialising in economics, and later continued his studies in England and France (Doctor of Law, Paris, 1932). Acquired Syrian nationality and joined the Nationalist *bloc*. In July 1938 appointed Assistant Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. After fall of Nationalist Government, went to Beirut. Was a prominent member of the Arab Club in Damascus, the centre of pro-Nazi intrigue. In 1940-41 is believed to have been go-between for the Italian Armistice Commission and Shukri Quwatly. Arrested by Allies and interned until 1943. Director-General of Supply, January to November 1944. Syrian representative on General Supply Council, March 1944. Expert to Syrian delegation to U.N.O. Conference at San Francisco, April 1945. Syrian representative of Preliminary Committee and member of delegation to U.N.O. Conference in London, November 1945. Is believed to have lined his pockets while in Ministry of Supply. Appointed Minister to Moscow in 1947. Member of Syrian delegation to U.N.O. April and September 1947, and again in 1950. Appointed Head of the Permanent Syrian Delegation to the United Nations in June 1951 in place of Faris al Khouri (q.v.). When the permanent delegation was temporarily abolished at the end of 1951, he was appointed Syrian Minister in Washington, but was later reappointed head of the reconstituted delegation. Appointed Minister (later Ambassador) in Washington on 20th October, 1952, being accredited also to Mexico in November.

Is xenophobe in general and in the past was pronouncedly Anglophobe: his attitude towards the British now is not clear, but he has not ceased to resent his internment in Mich-Mieh. He and his wife speak excellent English and French.

EY 1902/1

No. 9

## SYRIA : HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

*Mr. Montagu-Pollock to Sir W. Churchill. (Received June 15)*

(No. 82. Confidential)

*Damascus,*

Sir,

*May 26, 1953.*

With reference to Damascus despatch No. 106 (19020/1/52) of the 1st July, 1952, I have the honour to transmit to you here-with the Annual Report on Heads of Foreign Missions accredited to Syria.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Beirut, Cairo and Bagdad.

I have, &amp;c.

W. H. MONTAGU-POLLOCK.

## Heads of Foreign Missions in Syria

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports.)

(† = formerly Minister.)

**Argentina**

Sr. Carlos Alberto Leguizamon, Minister. (20th November, 1952.)

He was for some time (until June 1952) Minister-Counsellor at the Argentine Embassy in London. Very friendly and speaks good English. His wife is Swedish. He has made it clear that he has little liking for the Peronista régime.

**Brazil**

Sr. Mario Santos, Minister. (3rd July, 1952.)

I understand that his last post was Canberra, but that this is his first appointment as Minister. He has never called on me, and I therefore hardly know him. I gather from my diplomatic colleagues that his general behaviour is distinctly odd.

**Egypt**

M. le Général Ali Naguib, Ambassador. (10th December, 1952.)

A brother of the Egyptian Prime Minister. During the most difficult moments in Anglo-Egyptian relations, he has always gone out of his way to show friendliness to me; and I believe that he sincerely desires good relations between our two countries. Speaks English but understands it with difficulty.

**France**

M. Jacques Emile Paris, Ambassador.† (30th September, 1952.)

\*Comes from Sofia and has not previously served in the Middle East. It is often difficult objectively to judge one's French colleagues in Damascus, owing to the deep-rooted French suspicion of British motives in Syria. Though he has considerable charm of manner, he has yet to give me a single piece of information or of advice of interest or value. Both he and his wife, who is a daughter of a former

secretary-general of the Belgian Foreign Ministry, spend a large part of their time in Beirut and are clearly bored by Damascus, where most of the work of the French Legation seems to be performed by the counsellor. (Written in 1951.)

**German Federal Republic**

M. Hans Joachim von der Esch, Minister. (14th October, 1952.)

He was well known in Egypt for some years before the war and I understand that while ostensibly representing a German engineering firm and allegedly having a penchant for desert exploration, he was in fact preparing the way for the German Long-Range Desert Group. I find him intelligent and agreeable. His Swedish wife is particularly charming.

**Holy See**

Monsignor Pappalardo. (21st May, 1953.)

The first Papal representative accredited here. Was previously in a similar post for some eight years in Teheran. I have only just met him.

**Iraq**

M. Moussa Shabandar, Minister. (27th June, 1950.)

\*Smooth and outwardly friendly. Has shown himself ready to co-operate with this embassy by exchanging information. Has a Lebanese wife. (Written in 1951.)

He is now Iraqi Ambassador-designate to Washington.

**Italy**

Sr. Paolo Cortese, Minister. (8th November, 1952.)

Friendly but unimpressive.

**Persia**

Mr. Morteza Mochfegh Kazemi, Minister. (29th December, 1949.)

\*Friendly if uninspiring. Married. (Written in 1950.)

\*I learn from Syrian officials that he has been caught out trafficking in gold. (Written in 1951.)

**Saudi Arabia**

Shaikh Abdul Aziz Ibn Zaid, Ambassador.† (14th August, 1952.)

\*Doyen of the corps. Although he nominally lives in Damascus, he spends most of the winter in Beirut. Speaks no European language. A frail, sick man who looks, and behaves, like a living corpse. (Written in 1951.)

**Turkey**

M. Celal Tevfik Karasapan, Minister. (1st December, 1952.)

He has spent most of his service in Near or Middle Eastern posts. Is always anxious to co-operate with this embassy. Expects to be transferred shortly to Libya.

**United States**

Mr. James S. Moose, Jr., Ambassador. (30th September, 1952.)

He has served in a wide variety of Middle Eastern posts and was previously here as Counsellor. I have always found him most sensible and co-operative. His wife is an agreeable lady.

**Yugoslavia**

M. Mihailo Javorski, Minister. (7th February, 1952.)

\*A Bosnian, aged about 35. Married. Has hitherto worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He gives the impression of being a friendly and intelligent colleague. (Written in 1952.)

**Resident in Beirut**

(Those marked with a dagger have secretaries or attachés resident in Damascus.)

**Belgium**

†M. Fernand Scynaev, Minister. (2nd October, 1952.)

**Chile**

Sr. Fouad Saade, Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*.

**Czechoslovakia**

M. Josef Ptak, Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*. (3rd January, 1953.)

**Greece**

M. George Seferiades, Minister. Has not yet presented his credentials.

**Mexico**

M. José C. Valades, Minister. (14th October, 1952.)

**Soviet Union**

†M. Vassili Afanassievitch Belyaev, Minister. (3rd March, 1951.)

**Spain**

†Marquis de Castro de Torres, Minister. (21st May, 1949.)

**Switzerland**

Dr. Franz Kappeler, Minister. (8th January, 1951.)

**Resident in Cairo****Austria**

Dr. Robert Friedinger-Pranter, Minister. (7th February, 1952.)

**Ethiopia**

Vacant

**Netherlands**

M. Cnoop Koopmans, Minister. (24th January, 1952.)

**Norway**

M. Francis Irgens, Minister. (6th December, 1948.)

**Poland**

M. Jan Drohoyowski, Minister. Has not yet presented his credentials.

**Sweden**

M. Nils Gustaf Weidel, Minister. (10th April, 1952.)

**Resident in Bagdad****Afghanistan**

M. Abdul-Samad Khan, Minister. (4th September, 1952.)